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UNCONFORMITY IN THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

*The University College of North Staffordshire
Keele, Staffordshire*

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THE ASSIMILATION OF NEGROES IN A DOCKLAND AREA IN BRITAIN*

H. Maddox

Introduction.

During the inter-war years locally-born Negroes in Britain were widely regarded as a 'social problem.' Much data were amassed on the pathological aspects of their life, and some investigators¹ concluded that they were unassimilable—as a result of social or biological factors or both.

In the post-war years their economic status has improved and racial attitudes have become more tolerant. As a result of the work of Myrdal² and others in America, the relations between racial discrimination, low status and lack of aspiration have become better understood. On the other hand, British-born half-caste Negroes are not perceptually distinguished from any other Negroes by the British public, and are accorded the low status reserved in the norms of social distance for all those of Negro appearance.

The dual and conflicting designation of the locally-born as 'coloured' or 'foreigners' on the one hand and as 'British citizens' on the other results in uncertainties in self-concepts and in group orientations. The dramatic choices confronting such individuals have been exaggerated by novelists, but it is still true that their uncertainties about their status can only fully be resolved by identification and affiliation either with white people or with members of the more-or-less segregated coloured communities which in recent years have grown up in the major cities.

This study is concerned with the determinants of these group affiliations. The intention was to describe the locally-born population in a dockland area, and to give some account of their employment, family organisation, social participation (particularly across the colour line), and reaction to discrimination. In particular it was hoped to throw some light on the process of assimilation as illustrated

* This article is based on information collected with the assistance of Mrs. Angela Mays whilst the author was a member of the staff of the Department of Social Science of the University of Liverpool. He alone is responsible for the text.

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in friendships, associational memberships and in the family.

The investigation was carried out in a city with a fairly well-defined 'coloured quarter,' a blighted slum which was also the 'vice' area of the city. Negroes have been settled in the area since the turn of the century, although most came in two major waves during the two world wars. In the early days the Negro settlers, who were nearly all ex-seamen from West Africa, married white women. More recently there has been an increasing tendency for the locally born girls, the first generation descendants, to marry foreign born men, often from their fathers' country.

There were strong cleavages in the coloured settlement, based on length of residence, country of origin and social class. The locally born, aware of their peculiar position as British Negroes, saw their interests as opposed to those of the Colonials. The West Africans disliked the more recent West Indian immigrants, while the West Indians in their turn thought that the Africans were crude, uneducated and of lower status than themselves. Foreign born men generally were highly critical of the local 'half-castes.'

Description of the sample studied.

All the schools in the area were asked to supply the addresses of recognisably or reputedly Negro children who had left school within the last five years. In this way a list of some 130 families was compiled, of whom 100 were interviewed. Of the families interviewed 74 lived in the coloured quarter and 26 outside it. Most of those living outside the quarter lived a considerable distance from it and were often the only Negro families in their immediate neighbourhood.

The parentage in these 100 families was as follows:—

Foreign-born Negro men × white women	....	57
Foreign-born Negro men × locally born (half-caste) women	....	32
Locally born (half-caste) men × white women	....	5
Locally born (half-caste) men × locally born (half-caste) women	....	5
White man × locally born (half-caste) woman	....	1

There was considerable variation in the physical appearance of the children of these mixed marriages. Some of the foreign born fathers themselves, particularly West Indians, were of very mixed racial

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ancestry. Typically the children of mixed marriages were light brown in skin colour, had dark kinky or bushy hair and facial features ranging all the way from markedly Negro to European. The appearance of the true half-castes was usually such that they were recognisably of Negro descent and were classed by whites as Negroes. The children from marriages of foreign born men and locally born women were usually darker and more Negroid, and most white people would not have distinguished between them and the foreign born. On the other hand quadroons—the offspring of a locally born (half-caste) man and a white woman—usually passed as whites, although in these families there were sometimes some children darker than the others. The life chances of the locally born depend very much on their appearance and parentage. The 208 adult offspring of these marriages who were seen were classed as follows: 6% were indistinguishable from Europeans, 65% were of Negro appearance and 29% of a somewhat indeterminate class, having lighter skins and more European features than the majority.

70% of the fathers were West African, 15% West Indian, 10% locally born and 5% from other countries. The majority of family heads were engaged in semi-skilled or unskilled work, and of these about one-third were unemployed or only casually employed.

Group Orientations.

Full assimilation of Negroes in Britain, where all visibly coloured people tend to be defined as 'foreigners,' whatever their origins, can only take place by intermarriage with whites. Individuals of Negro appearance, however acculturated, are always likely to meet discriminating treatment. Clearly in this situation acculturation is of little service as an index of assimilation.

A Negro may wish to be assimilated. In this case he will try to forget about colour, will move out from the coloured quarter, seek membership in white groups and accept many of the current white notions about Negroes. His behaviour will be governed by the standards and conventions of white society. At the other extreme are those who are aggressively proud of the Negro race, live in the coloured quarter, associate exclusively with Negroes and are frequently hostile to white people. Intermediate between these two extremes is a large class of those who accept colour prejudice as inevitable and are prepared to come to some sort of accommodation with it. They accept the idea of a separate coloured society within

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Britain. They are prepared to 'behave' and to 'be respectful' in the belief that they will then be fairly treated, although many are apathetic and have given up trying to struggle: 'their colour has got them down,' as was frequently said in the course of the interviews.

Diagrammatically these three different ways of shaping behaviour and attitudes may be thought of thus:—

<i>Assimilative</i>	<i>Conformist</i>	<i>Separatist</i>
1. Friendly to whites.	1. Neutral.	1. Hostile to whites.
2. Aim to become full members of white society.	2. Accept a separate coloured society within Britain.	2. Look to Africa and the days when 'the Negro race will come into its own.'
3. Acceptance of white cultural goals and status system.	3. Partial acceptance of white cultural goals.	3. Rejection of white cultural goals.

The 100 families were divided on the basis of general impressions into these three categories: 29 were classed as assimilative, 55 as conformist, and 16 as separatist.

The interview material was then tabulated and coded, using assimilation—separatism as the primary classification throughout. Each item of the material was reduced to a dichotomy, and those items were selected which best discriminated between the three groups. These items, which are set out in the table below, give operational meaning to the term 'assimilation.'

(Proportions are given for each group for one half of the dichotomy. The proportions falling into the other half have not been given in the table below, but can easily be obtained by subtraction. For example, in item 2, since the proportions residing outside the coloured quarter are .66, .04 and .00, the corresponding proportions residing inside the coloured quarter are .34, .96, 1.0.)

	<i>Assimilative</i>	<i>Conformist</i>	<i>Separatist</i>
1. Refusal to participate in segregated ('coloured only') institutions or associations	1.0	0.0	0.0
2. Residence outside the coloured quarter ... ..	.66	.04	0.0
3. The formation of friendships predominantly with whites ... ..	.48	0.0	0.0
4. Marriage predominantly with whites ... ..	.48	.05	0.0

The first item is thus the defining attribute of an assimilative family.

A further distinction was made between those families who appeared to be aggressively proud of their separate identity as Negroes and hostile to whites. The following items distinguished

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these 'separatist' families from others:—

	<i>Assimilative</i>	<i>Conformist</i>	<i>Separatist</i>
1. Instability of marriage (desertion, separation or unexplained absence of either husband or wife) ...	.08	.22	.71
2. A record of casual and irregular employment by any male members of the family ...	.08	.35	.75
3. Communal living arrangements ...	.28	.49	.71
4. Exclusive membership of segregated ('coloured only') associations ...	0	.25	.44

The three categories assimilative, conformist and separatist may be thought of as stages in the process of assimilation. Initially, foreign-born immigrants are often hostile to whites, and associate more or less exclusively with Negroes. Whether their children are oriented to white or to Negro groups depends on their parentage, appearance and general life chances, and on the sort of group memberships to which their parents introduce them. Some variation in orientation was found among the members of each family, but, generally speaking, the family had a powerful effect on the group memberships and self-images of all its members.

29% of families were classed as assimilative, 55% as conformist and 16% as separatist. Generalisation on the basis of these percentages is hazardous as it is not precisely known to what extent the sample of families interviewed was representative of families in the area, nor whether the dockland area was typical of Negro settlement in Britain. Nearly all refusals to be interviewed came from families who were known to be hostile to whites. Such families were therefore probably under-represented in the sample. There is nevertheless undoubted evidence of a substantial number of families who wish to be assimilated. Attitudinal correlates of these group orientations were:—

	<i>Assimilative</i>	<i>Conformist</i>	<i>Separatist</i>
Denial or minimisation of prejudice ...	.75	.27	0
Attribution of the blame for prejudice to the misdeeds of coloured people ...	.59	.25	0
Hostility expressed towards whites ...	.07	.33	.81

Surprisingly, the groups did not differ significantly with respect to the mother's race; but the social class and personal resources of the mother had great influence on group orientation. In most families in which the mother came from a lower middle class or respectable working class home the family was assimilative. There was in fact a strong relation between social class and group orientation. Stable

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employment and a stable monogamous union characterised the assimilative group, and at the other extreme unemployment and unstable unions characterised the separatist group. Physical appearance was clearly of importance in determining orientation, although there were some of strong Negro appearance in the assimilative, and a few light-skinned individuals in the separatist group. Area of residence was of double importance: on the one hand the assimilative families wished to move out from the coloured quarter, and when they did so, naturally developed more contacts with whites. By contrast the coloured quarter was clannish, embittered and hostile to whites.

Colour, Class and Orientation.

Orientation was strongly related to stability of employment, but was by no means synonymous with occupational class. The principal breadwinners in each family were crudely classified by occupational class as follows: self-employed and professional 9%, working class 68% and chronically unemployed or only casually employed 23%. The relation between orientation and occupational class was then as follows:—

	<i>Self-employed and professional</i>	<i>Working class</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>	
Assimilative	5	24	0	29
Conformist	2	41	12	55
Separatist	2	2	11	16
	9	68	23	100

It can be seen that although in general there was a strong positive relation between occupational class and group orientation, some of the self-employed and professional families, being more aware of discrimination and the job ceiling, were oriented to the separatist group, and only about half the unemployed could be classed as separatist.

The existence of the assimilative families showed that the colour bar was by no means absolute. There were friendships across the colour line and many Negroes had been helped individually by white friends and acquaintances. Some assimilative families denied that they had ever been handicapped by colour, while the separatist families complained bitterly of colour prejudice. Some Negroes

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were clearly more acceptable to Europeans than others.

Although class distinctions among Negro settlers were still embryonic, the self-employed and skilled workers constituted an élite. They were house owners or householders and in the eyes of their white neighbours 'decent and respectable.' Usually they were ambitious for their children and were making a conscious effort to rise in the world.

Others in regular employment differed little in their style of living from the white families in the district. Typically they lived in an old house, shabby but reasonably clean. They were content with steady manual jobs for themselves and their children. Many of them liked the district in which they lived and had no ambition to move elsewhere. This was by far the largest class.

The families of the casual workers and the unemployed lived under conditions of poverty, filth and squalor. Often openly hostile to whites and blaming colour prejudice for their position, they were apt to become involved, with some of the more recent immigrants, in shady activities and rackets. These 'lower class' families tended to be of markedly Negro appearance: they owed their lower class position at least in part to the fact that they looked very unlike white people. A resourceful family could overcome this handicap, but if a family was poor and lacking in resources, the added handicap made its position very unenviable. The full force of the norms of social distance was reserved for those who combined Negro appearance and lower class characteristics.

Social Participation.

It is enlightening to examine the friendships across the colour line of the various types of family. Nearly all Negro children had some white friends at school, but in their later school years these friendships ceased and although some friendships, particularly of girls, outlasted schooldays, there was a progressive falling off of white friendships in adolescence. Neglecting school friendships, therefore, the friendships of the families visited were as follows:

	<i>Predominantly or exclusively white</i>	<i>Both white and Negro</i>	<i>Predominantly or exclusively Negro</i>
Assimilative	14	15	0
Conformist	0	20	35
Separatist	0	3	13

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A white mother, residence outside the coloured quarter and a more recent marriage, predisposed to the formation of friendships with whites.

Many of the assimilative families were, however, socially marginal. To be marginal in the strict sense, individuals must actively desire roles and positions which are denied them, and at the same time be unwilling to accept the roles and positions which are open to them. A rough measure of the extent of social participation was obtained by casual observation and questioning. At the one extreme were those families who had a constant stream of friends, relations and visitors dropping in to pass the time of day. At the other extreme were those who kept themselves to themselves and lived in relative isolation. The separatist group were observed to be very much more sociable than the other groups. Many of the assimilative families, on the other hand, tended towards that minimal social participation which is perhaps the modern urban trend in Britain. Thus one consequence of assimilation was a decline from the free and easy communal living of the separatist families to the relative social isolation of the conjugal family, in which the home becomes a private area.

The amount of social participation was clearly related to family organisation. The typical white urban family consists of parents and their unmarried children, living as a separate household. This may be called a conjugal family. Contrasted with the conjugal family are various larger, more extended households, containing parents, their married children and other relatives. Since such extended households are more common in West Africa and the West Indies than in industrial Britain, it might be anticipated that an important process in assimilation would be the transition from an extended to a conjugal family. This was in fact the case: the assimilative families tended to live in single family dwellings without other relatives, while the others and, especially the separatist families, lived in larger and more extended units.

All the evidence on social participation pointed to the social marginality of the assimilative families. Assimilative families who lived in the coloured quarter practised deliberate social isolation in order to avoid the corrupting influences of the slum. Some of those who lived outside the coloured quarter made no friends among their white neighbours. Their associational memberships were likewise limited. They were unwilling to play any part in the community

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centre and clubs established for colour, but too unsure of their reception to join white associations. The anxieties consequent upon this social marginality seldom received overt expression, but some slight evidence was obtained that mental disorders occurred with excessive frequency in the assimilative families.

The white women who married Negroes were usually ostracised by their families, the male members offering the most strenuous opposition to the marriage. After a few years, when children were born, there was often a reconciliation and the women might be visited by their mothers and sisters, if not by their male relations; but in about two-thirds of mixed marriages no visits were made either to or by the wife's relatives. This was a further factor contributing to the social isolation of the assimilative families.

Employment.

At school, Negro children were educationally backward and very few attended either grammar or technical schools. In the secondary modern schools, however, they did remarkably well in sports and many became school prefects. The friendly un-discriminating atmosphere of the school was in sharp contrast to the discrimination which awaited young people when they left school and started looking for work. It was a common experience for Negro girls to go along with white friends for job interviews only to find that their white friends were accepted but that they were not.

The range of occupations open to Negro boys and girls was restricted. In the area generally there were few trade apprenticeships: most of the employment was in dock-work, in semi-skilled factory work and labouring. Some white boys, however, got work in shops and offices and trades. Negro boys found it unusually difficult to find employment in any kind of skilled trade. For girls the position was easier: they were able to get jobs as machinists in the clothing industry, but for them too the range of possible occupations was more restricted than for other girls in the area: few Negro girls were employed in shop and office work. There was in fact a job ceiling for Negro juveniles, although it was by no means as absolute as juvenile employment officers or as Negro families themselves sometimes believed; it was, however, generally known in the area that there were certain firms who would employ coloured persons and others who would not.

106 unmarried sons, about whom information was obtained, were

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employed as follows:—

General labouring and semi-skilled industrial work	48
Apprenticed tradesmen	....	15
Seamen (mostly cooks)	....	11
Regular Forces	....	11
Miners	....	4
Clerical	....	3
Other	....	14

As the employment of unskilled Negro men was notoriously irregular, many families made great efforts to secure a trade training for their sons. This was the main reason for joining the Regular Forces. Many boys wanted to go to sea (often their father's trade), but few of them were able to get taken on a ship.

Almost a third of these sons were unemployed or only casually employed at the time of the investigation. This was so far above the rate for the area as to need some explanation. Some were unemployed because they were of lower class origin, dirty, and of unprepossessing appearance by white standards. In the separatist families overcrowded conditions and an irregular style of living were opposed to the demands of steady industrial work. Others were unemployed as a result of occupational marginality: able and talented youths coming up against the job ceiling were unwilling to do the low status jobs available to them. Particularly after service in the Forces, where they enjoyed full social equality, they became intolerant of discriminatory treatment and often developed 'chip-on-the-shoulder' attitudes to employers.

In examining the unemployed as a group it was at once apparent that unemployment ran in families. It was unusual to find a single individual within a family out of work, but fairly common to find a number of siblings or both parents and children unemployed. In the 100 families visited there were in all 36 locally born unemployed (excluding the unemployed heads of families). Of these 7 were the only unemployed members in their families, and most of these were younger people temporarily out of work.

Unemployment therefore was primarily a family matter and did not appear to depend on individual characteristics so much as on attributes shared by entire families. It was likely of course that members of the same family would tend to resemble each other in physical appearance and in abilities and general command of resources. Probably more important, however, was the family's

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general style of living, orientation, and attitude to regular work. Where there was a parental tradition of casual and irregular employment, the children were much more likely to be unemployed than otherwise. The unemployed tended to be embittered and hypersensitive and to blame prejudice for all their troubles.

It should be emphasised that in spite of their difficulties the majority of the locally born were in regular employment, but that those whose talents and abilities fitted them for better work than the routine jobs open to them, accepted these jobs only with reluctance after a painful lowering of aspirations which left many of the men sullen and resentful by their middle twenties.

Conclusions.

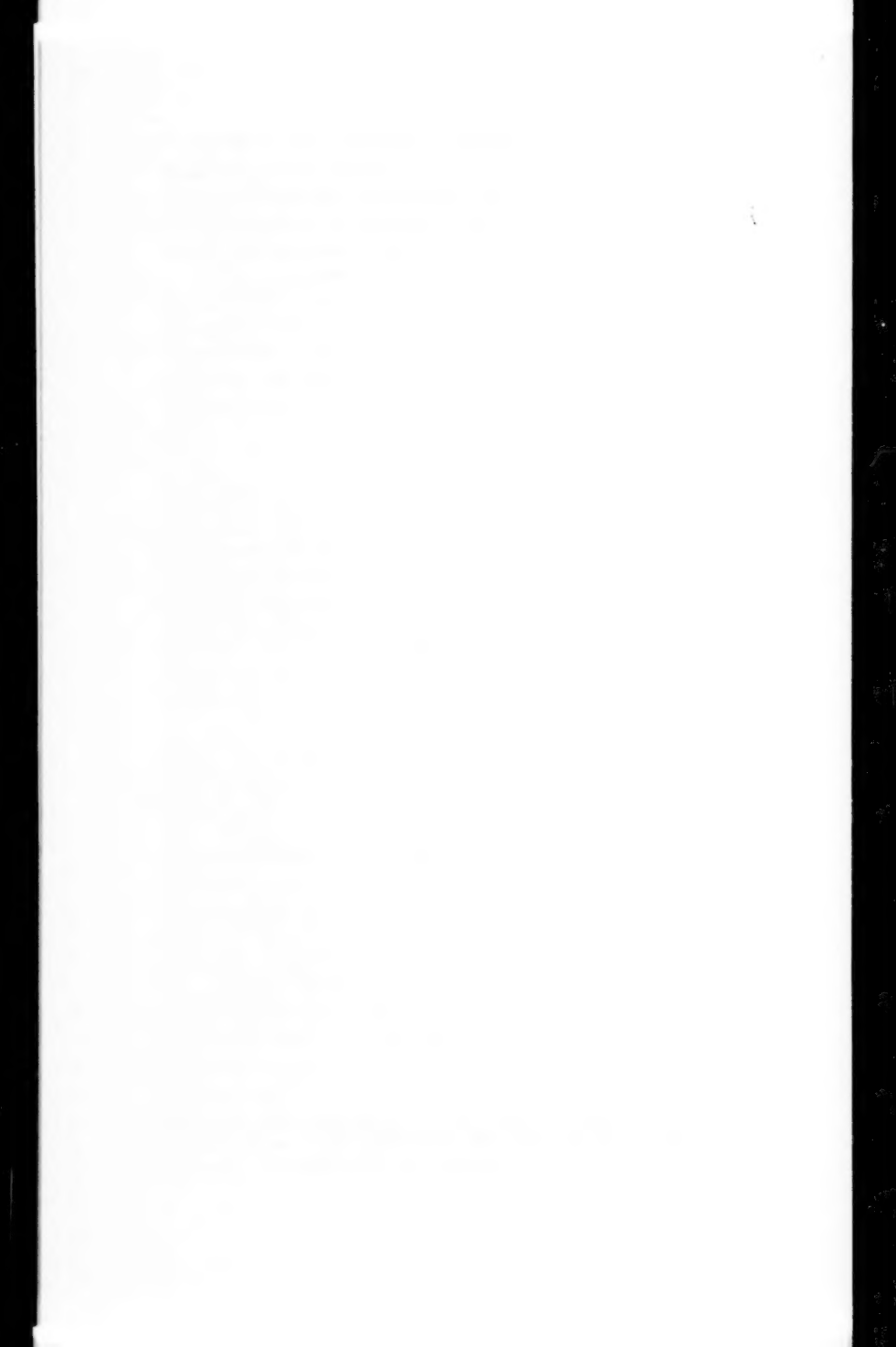
Against the common impression that, with continuing immigration, Negroes tend to live in closely segregated communities, it has been shown that about a third of the unions contracted by Negro immigrants in a dockland area have resulted in families who wish to be assimilated. Locally born men often marry white girls and their children pass as whites. The locally born women, on the other hand, unless they come from an assimilative family, usually marry Negroes, and their children tend to maintain their separate coloured identity. (This is a consequence of the sex ratio in the coloured communities, in which Negro men greatly outnumber Negro women.)

Social marginality is often the fate of the partners in mixed marriages who wish to be assimilated, and clearly the transition from the free and easy social life of the coloured quarter to the restricted social life of the suburban conjugal household is not all gain. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of the locally born prefer the relative security of the coloured quarter. In all the evidence collected in this study, area of residence—whether inside or outside the coloured quarter—is one of the most powerful of all influences on group orientation. Directly or indirectly it influences racial attitudes, employment histories and interracial friendship. In the centre of the coloured quarter the tradition of unemployment and the relative sense of grievance and frustration create an environment highly inimical to assimilation.

University of Birmingham.

¹ e.g., M. E. Fletcher: *Report on an Investigation into the Colour Problems in Liverpool and other Ports*, Liverpool, 1930.

² G. Myrdal: *An American Dilemma*, New York, 1944.



SOLIDARIST SYNDICALISM: DURKHEIM AND DUGUIT

Part I.*

J. E. S. Hayward

In the course of the nineteenth century, French social philosophy witnessed the emergence of a concept from obscure beginnings in the realm of jurisprudence and its rapid transition into a cliché which, by the end of the century, had won such widespread ascendancy that had it then been decided to substitute one principle for the official Republican ideals, the trinity 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' it would undoubtedly have been 'Solidarity.' Its earliest exponents, whether amongst the 'social theologians' who grounded it upon original sin, such as de Maistre, or upon collective redemption, such as Lamennais; amongst the would-be 'social scientists,' such as Saint-Simon and Comte, who based it upon the spatial interdependence of functional specialisation and the temporal continuity of progress; amongst the Fourierist champions of voluntary association or the advocates of state intervention such as Sismondi, Louis Blanc and Dupont-White, all looked to this notion to provide the 'objective' foundations for an extensive programme of social reorganisation calculated to replace post-Revolutionary political, economic, intellectual and moral anarchy by a harmonious, integrated society.

The tragedy of 1848, in which France revealed itself unready to embark upon ambitious schemes of comprehensive social reform, was followed on the plane of social philosophy by a critical re-examination (in particular by Proudhon and Renouvier) from a juridico-moralistic standpoint of the naturalistic conceptions of solidarity current in the early nineteenth century, leading in its turn to the neo-naturalistic reformulation of Solidarist ideas by a group of thinkers in the late nineteenth century who have, for the most part, suffered an unmerited neglect. The theocentric strand in the Solidarist movement was championed by the Swiss Social Protestant Charles Secrétan; the economic strand by Léon Walras' conception of Social (or Welfare)

* Part II will be published in December, 1960.

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Economics; the associationist strand by Charles Gide and the Co-operativist Nîmes School; and the state interventionist strand by the Radical political leader, Léon Bourgeois, whose 'Solidarism' was inspired in particular by the eclectic social philosophy of Alfred Fouillée. To describe the substantial contribution of these thinkers to the emergence of the Welfare State in France is not our purpose here.¹ Rather, we wish to focus attention on a neglected aspect of the social philosophy of Emile Durkheim, successor to Saint-Simon and Comte as the exponent of the sociological strand in the Solidarist tradition, and in his turn forerunner of the reformist syndicalism of Léon Duguit.

Cayret, in tracing the protagonists of the sociological theory of law in *Le Procès de l'Individualisme Juridique*, affirmed that 'Comte, Durkheim, Duguit, are the foremost representatives of one and the same doctrine to which may be given the label of social solidarism.'² Though grossly inaccurate if taken literally, this statement does stress the fact that the three thinkers form part of a major strand in the solidarist tradition: the attempt to arrive by scientific method at a sociological explanation of social structure and development (Comte's 'order' and 'progress'). This would provide the key to a political and economic reorganisation calculated to achieve pacific national and international relations through obedience to the dictates of solidarity. The tendency within this branch of the solidarist tradition was towards an increasing liberalisation, associated with the growing importance of the juridico-moral elements integrated with the basic sociological postulates; so much so that the Renouvierist reassertion of personality and democracy and the rejection of historicism and religious mysticism achieved by Durkheim at the expense of Comte was followed by Duguit's repudiation of the vestigial remnants of Comtian sociocracy, associated with the notion of a collective consciousness, remaining in Durkheim.

Durkheim.

Like his forerunners, the pioneer-sociologists Saint-Simon and Comte, Durkheim was intensely conscious of the need to bring scientific order into the 'désarroi actuel des idées morales.'³ Not only had the French and Industrial Revolutions, whose impact had so impressed his predecessors, gathered momentum by the late nineteenth century, proliferating in all directions the detailed consequences of their advent a century earlier and rendering of utmost urgency

Solidarist Syndicalism: Durkheim and Duguit

the task of social reintegration on new foundations. The disasters of 1870-71: the decisive military defeat of France by Prussia, the amputation of Alsace-Lorraine (Durkheim, as an Alsatian, felt this blow personally), the desperate rising by the Paris Commune, followed in subsequent decades by the bitter struggles between monarchists and republicans, clericalism and anti-clericalism, capitalism and collectivism, all imparted to Durkheim's would-be exclusively scientific investigations a practical orientation. Half a century after Louis Blanc's failure to achieve the Solidarist 'organisation of labour,' Durkheim, returning to first principles, concentrated upon the analysis of the phenomenon of the social division of labour.

Durkheim's social philosophy, upon which he sought to superimpose the strait-jacket of rigorous scientific method, has been described as 'Kantianism, reassessed and supplemented by Comtianism.'⁴ Whilst, as we shall see, it would be more accurate to characterise it as an attempt to conciliate the neo-positivism and sociologism of Comte's predecessor, Saint-Simon, with the neo-criticism and 'juridism' of Kant's disciple, Renouvier, this affirmation is valuable in indicating the tension within Durkheim's doctrine between determinist and libertarian, holist and personalist, transcendental and immanentist tendencies which, throughout his work, he endeavoured to resolve into a harmonious synthesis through the unrelenting application of 'conscience,' i.e. a combination of analytical reason and imperative ethic. However, all too often, this effort merely resulted in a discord between the deterministic, holistic, transcendental sociologism of his particular studies, e.g. of suicide and religion, and the libertarian, personalistic and immanentist moralism of the generalisations dictated by his underlying social philosophy.

Durkheim's conception of sociological solidarity can be described as juridico-moralistic in character. To consider its moralistic aspect first, Durkheim categorically affirmed the autonomy of ethics alongside naturalistic sociology because of the specificity or, as he preferred to describe it, the 'sui generis' nature of normative facts. Value judgments were not to be elevated either into *a priori* ideals or reduced to epiphenomena of material reality. They were social ideals, representing the synthesis of objective facts which, whether economic, political, religious, moral or aesthetic, were systems of values implying ideals. Society itself was above all a union of the ideas, beliefs and feelings of individuals.⁵ Consequently, whereas in his sociological analysis Durkheim frequently expressed himself in a fatalistic, super-

personalist vein reminiscent of Comte's 'Philosophie Positive,' in his moralistic synthesis he came close to the anti-quietist personalism of Renouvier's 'Science de la Morale.' This was disguised by the fact that the neo-Kantian, moralistic conception of duty had been absorbed into social obligation; sociological facts—particularly juridico-social facts—becoming imbued with the categorically imperative force of their immanent ethical source, yet nevertheless remaining objective phenomena capable of scientific analysis.

In striking contrast with the anti-juridical prejudices of his sociological mentors, Saint-Simon and Comte, Durkheim reintegrated 'subjective,' 'metaphysical' law (after transforming it) together with ideas, values, modes of behaviour and states of collective consciousness (i.e. philosophy, ethics, descriptive sociology and social psychology) within 'objective' sociology, singling out the sanctioned constraint of the law as the most easily identifiable external symbol of relations of social solidarity.⁶ This methodological assimilation of juridical and moral force (facilitated by the ambiguity of the French word *droit*) led to the distinction drawn between mechanical and organic solidarity being paralleled by that between repressive or penal and restitutive or contractual and constitutional law, whose implications for the Solidarist movement we examine below. Suffice it to say here that repressive law, associated with a 'mechanical' type of solidarity, was quasi-theological and expiatory in character, harking back to the homogeneity of 'segmental' primitive society; whereas restitutive law, associated with an 'organic' form of solidarity was rational and reforming in spirit, anticipating the future progress of which functionally differentiated, civilised society was capable and reflecting the advance it had already made. We see here the resurgence, in a modified form, of the historicism of the pioneer sociologists, the obsession with origins and social dynamics which distracted Durkheim's attention from the non-legal aspects of spontaneous sociability which subsumed the externally visible superstructure of organised sanctions and were the roots of the solidarity upon which he so successfully focussed attention.

Coupled with this sterile preoccupation with genetic sociology was a tendency to relapse from social pluralism into social holism. However, after Proudhon and prior to Duguit, he stated the transpersonalist synthesis between social individualism and social holism in politics and economics with clarity and vigour. In modern specialised societies, 'where it is economic relations that form the

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basis of social life, social unity is above all the consequence of the solidarity of interests; it is, accordingly, the result of internal causes, of the ties of interdependence that unite the different parts of society, not of this or that feature of its political institutions.⁷ On the contrary, when for the arbitrary commands of a sovereign state, founded upon will and artifice, was substituted a scientific enquiry into the legal implications of the transformation of the spontaneous system of social functions, the division of labour—the source of social solidarity in civilised society—emerged as the moral criterion of social rights and duties. The economists, however, through their doctrinaire interpretation of the principle of the division of labour, had provoked an unparalleled struggle between economic egoisms, as insatiable and anarchic as they were amoral, annihilating instead of reforming the professional morality of the centuries prior to the Industrial Revolution.⁸ We shall see in due course how Durkheim proposed to orientate sociology so as to fill the vacuum left by political economy in the scientific study of society.

Sources.

Of all the influences upon Durkheim's social philosophy, none was greater than the impact of the positivist sociologism of Saint-Simon and Comte, respectively nineteenth century France's greatest seminal mind and most elaborate systematiser. Durkheim's preference went to Saint-Simon, both because of his originality and because of the more truly solidarist character of his preoccupation with scientifically establishing a post-Revolutionary social system that embodied the principal requisites whose absence provoked and exacerbated the socialist critique throughout the nineteenth century.⁹ The Saint-Simon methodological key to social conciliation was the study of society as a static and dynamic fact, not an agglomeration of wills but a specific reality with a distinct existence as a morphological and ideological community. Through the progress of the division of labour, it produced social solidarity, the material and intellectual integration of specialised functions leading 'normally' to harmony, both nationally and internationally.¹⁰ However, where 'pathological deviations' from the norm occurred as by-products of the development of specialisation (e.g. antagonism between labour and capital or a slump), Durkheim refused to follow Comte's remedy of paternalistic state intervention on the grand scale. He considered this a reactionary attempt to restore authoritarian solidarity based upon

'mechanical' similitude instead of the appropriate pluralistic, piecemeal, professional self-government based upon 'organic' functional diversity.¹¹

Two of the major social institutions, religion and property, were, like the state, reduced by Durkheim from absolute status to the modest rôle of social functions. Whereas in the Saint-Simonian movement, nascent sociology, in its optimistic effort at comprehensiveness of grasp, was absorbed by religion, in the more mature sociological movement of the late nineteenth century, religion and morality were annexed by society as the most comprehensive framework within which the perfectibility, so earnestly sought by the Saint-Simonians, could alone be achieved. If God was society personified, private property was society atomised. Property was to the sociologist a social function, concerned with distributing the instruments of production to the producers. Where this concession from society to the individual disrupted the harmonious functioning of the economic order, e.g. because it led to strife between capitalists and employees or through inheritance vitiated contractual equality and created a class of hereditary poor, it could either be curtailed or withdrawn.¹² Here we see the Saint-Simonian inspiration overstepping the limits of scientific social analysis and suggesting practical measures of social reform.

Durkheim was undoubtedly influenced by the 'Katheder Sozialisten' or German academic socialists of the late nineteenth century; particularly by a dissident, Schaeffle, whose *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers* he reviewed in 1885 before his visit in 1886 to Germany. Schaeffle, together with Ihering and Wundt, occupied an important place in the articles on *La Science positive de la morale en Allemagne* which he published on his return; but he maintained that his main debt was to Comte.¹³ He was probably influenced more by his senior colleague at Bordeaux, Alfred Espinas, whose thesis, *Des Sociétés Animales*, had developed the Comtian conception of social organicism, which, as taken up by Perrier, Worms, Izoulet and Pioger, and independently popularised by Spencer, became so popular at the turn of the century. From Espinas, Durkheim borrowed the notions of collective consciousness and the 'sui generis' character of human society stemming from the 'organic solidarity' which characterised social relations and which was most evident in the economic division of labour.¹⁴

There are also significant affinities between some of Durkheim's

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essential doctrines and those of a critic of Espinas, Alfred Fouillée and his stepson Jean-Marie Guyau. Guyau, despite his death in 1888 at the age of 33, was the author of several works which were immediately recognised in France as outstanding: in particular *Esquisse d'une morale sans obligation ni sanction* (1885), *L'Irréligion de l'Avenir* (1887) and the posthumous *Education et Hérité* (1889) and *L'Art au point de vue sociologique* (1889). In these works Guyau anticipated some of Durkheim's subsequent formulations which, arrayed in self-consciously 'scientific' garb, were to provoke so much controversy. Firstly, in his view of religion and its ties as based fundamentally upon sociability, conceived by analogy with human society in a mythical and mystical form, Guyau went as far as affirming that 'la religion est un sociomorphisme universel,'¹⁵ providing the transition between the Comtian view (inspired by de Maistre) of religion as the indispensable bond of society and Durkheim's reduction of religion to a set of collective representations, functions of social solidarity. Secondly, his notion of moral and religious 'anomie' was to be utilised by Durkheim to describe the abnormal or anomalous consequences of the social division of labour, i.e. those that did not promote social solidarity; though for Guyau, far from representing pathological deviation from the norm, moral and religious 'anomie' represented a welcome assertion of religious individualism against the monolithic dogmas of orthodoxy, flanked by supernatural sanctions, and moral independence from the traditional conception of obligation as imperative and absolute.¹⁶ Finally, the complementary growth of personal liberty and social solidarity, particularly through a plurality of associations which combined the ideals of liberalism and socialism, envisaged by Guyau, was given by Durkheim an 'objective' basis in the social evolution provoked by the organic solidarity characteristic of increasing specialisation. A decade before Durkheim, Guyau proclaimed that 'moral obligation assumes the form of a *professional obligation*,' the emphasis being his own.¹⁷

Fouillée regarded Durkheim's theory of collective ideals as synthetic social forces as a sociological version of his own psychology-centred theory of idea-forces, not fundamentally opposed but complementary to his own more explicitly ideological approach,¹⁸ despite its objectivist desire to neglect *a priori* ideas as such for the pre-occupation with the phenomena in which they were expressed. Like Fouillée, the champion of a 'Sociologie Réformiste,' Durkheim hoped to provide through social science a remedy for the social problems

increasingly preoccupying French politicians. To this end, his theory that 'The division of labour gives birth to juridical rules which determine the nature and the relations of the specialised functions, whose violation, however, does not provoke other than reparative, non-expiatory measures,' pointed to the same practical conclusions as Fouillée's conception of reparative justice; a view supported by Durkheim's comments on the need for public intervention to ensure that inequality between contracting parties did not lead to effective coercion cloaked by nominal freedom.¹⁹

Although Durkheim was intellectually indebted to his eminent teacher at the Ecole Normale, Emile Boutroux, to whom he dedicated his thesis on the division of labour, it was to that other great critic of determinism, Charles Renouvier, that he owed the fundamentals of his rationalism.²⁰ Like Kant and Renouvier, Durkheim was pre-occupied with the problems of establishing scientific objectivity, and ethical and social obligation, upon unimpeachable foundations. However, the nefarious influence of Saint-Simonism, more enduring than in the case of Renouvier, led him frequently to take the short cut of substituting scientism for 'criticism' and Society for God, despite such Renouvierist claims as that in the Preface to the first edition of his magnum opus: 'We do not wish to deduce morality from science, but to study morality scientifically, which is very different.'²¹ Similarly, despite his emulation of Renouvier's criticisms of Comte's historicism, he did not wholly escape this ambient pseudo-scientific influence. The degree of social division of labour and its derivatives became the criterion of a deterministic progress. Within this philosophical framework, the sanctity of human personality, which Durkheim reaffirmed, ceased to be an *a priori* categorical imperative and became an inevitable consequence of social processes over which human control was limited.²² However, in discussing 'une des variétés importantes de la solidarité organique . . . la solidarité contractuelle,' Durkheim came close to the Proudhon-Renouvier type of moralistic demand for just, as well as free, contract, i.e. equal bargaining power as well as *laissez faire* in the prevailing competitive struggle.²³

In a footnote to his *Division du Travail Social*, Durkheim dismissed *De la Solidarité Morale*, the work of one of Renouvier's principal disciples, on the ground that 'M. Marion has studied the problem from another angle: he has particularly concentrated upon establishing the reality of the phenomenon of solidarity.' He did not

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even mention the work of another disciple of Renouvier, Gaston Richard's *Essai sur l'origine de l'idée du droit*—which he approvingly reviewed in the same year as he published his own work—that shares with Ferneuil's *Les principes de 1789 et la Science Sociale* the characteristic of anticipating some of the most important conceptions of *De la Division du Travail Social*.²⁴ In this first book, in which positivism had not yet been ousted by neo-criticism, Richard affirmed that law could only arise out of security, security out of social guarantees, involving the acceptance of social responsibility which became the source of personal security. This anticipation of Durkheim's juridical sociology was coupled with a pluralistic critique of individualism (particularly 'certain classical economists, always ready to find useful effects for suspicious practices'), the definition of crime as an offence against social solidarity and a rejection of the Renouvierist dichotomy between justice and solidarity. He based this rejection on a reliance upon social interdependence to correct the undesirable consequences which sprang from some of its manifestations.²⁵

However, in his later discussions of the idea of solidarity, he found it logically impossible to accept the complacent eclecticism of those who utilised 'criticist' practical applications whilst diluting its theoretical postulates. This change in viewpoint was characterised by a rejection of the naturalistic identification of morality with sociability, to the neglect of the idea of personal and collective responsibility and the optimistic slurring over of the fact that, whether or not one accepted the religious dogma of original sin, 'Men are united in evil before being united against it.'²⁶ He returned to the attack, in the true Proudhonian and Renouvierist tradition, in *La Morale et la Question Sociale*, contrasting the conceptual inadequacy of the accepted formulation of the idea of solidarity with its valuable applications. The idea of solidarity had become an idol, despite its abundant confusions, obscurities and sophistries; and as against Durkheim, he argued that 'the consequence which derives from the division of labour in human relations is wholly different from organic solidarity: it is the reciprocity of services: it is just another name for Justice.'²⁷

The Social Problem.

In his preface to the first edition of *De la Division du Travail Social*, Durkheim, having begun his research on the relations

between individualism and socialism, and reformulated his problem as the relations between the individual and society, once again modified the terms to be reconciled if both progress and social harmony were to be achieved. He stated that 'the problem that was the source of this work is that of the relations between the individual personality and social solidarity. How is it possible that whilst becoming more autonomous, the individual becomes increasingly dependent upon society? How can he be simultaneously more personal and more solidary? For it is unquestionably true that these two tendencies, however contradictory they may appear, are continuing parallel to each other. Such is the problem we have set ourselves. It appeared to us that the solution of this apparent antinomy was a transformation of social solidarity through the growth of the division of labour.'²⁸ Economics and socialism had a common source: they were the products of the same society, common assumptions underlying their divergent interpretations. Was it not to the economists that was due the credit for having resurrected the notion of the spontaneous differentiation and integration of social life through the division of labour? However, as some of the more perspicacious economists, such as Sismondi in the early and Gide in the late nineteenth century had realised, economics could not be left to ratiocinate in a vacuum, identifying social reality with its doctrinaire assumptions. A chorus of complaints against social injustice, accompanied by a multiplicity of socialist projects for fraternal socio-economic reorganisation, pointed to the need for a corrective to the social insolidarity engendered by a policy of *laissez faire* towards the cataclysmic consequences of the industrial revolution for the social division of labour.²⁹

In seeking to avoid the fashionable antithesis between individualism and collectivism on the metapolitical and metasociological plane, Durkheim repeatedly stressed the '*sui generis*' or specific character of social phenomena. They were simultaneously irreducible to their individual constituents and incapable of absorption into a super-personal, holistic entity. He was groping his way towards a trans-personalist formulation of the relations of solidarity which transformed those who participated in group activity and engendered something different from the sum of persons composing the group, though inseparable from them: an immanent, not a transcendent solidarity. He refused to be forced into either the materialist atomism of the Hobbesian individualists or the mystical organicism

of the Hegelian holists. Society was distinct but not separable from its individual members, and whilst truth was 'a social thing, it is at the same time a human thing . . . What is collective in it exists only through the consciousness of individuals: truth is only attained by individuals.'³⁰ Though society was the ultimate repository of all truth, Durkheim dwelt upon the emancipatory rôle of intellectual individualism in destroying the old, conformist social order based upon mechanical solidarity and pioneering, as well as reflecting, the growth of a diversified social order based upon functional solidarity.

Despite his misleading Teutonic terminology, Durkheim championed a scientific, immanent, associationist, 'relational realism' as opposed to both substantialist, super-personal 'social realism' and empirical, atomistic social nominalism. Attempts to reduce his views either to social realism or social nominalism have only been possible because Durkheim did not obey his own admirable injunction to beware of what he called 'prénotions'; unscientific concepts which misled and confused those who employed them and those who sought to understand the ideas they attempted to convey.³¹ For example, the term 'individual' never lost its double, contradictory connotation of a wholly imaginary, 'isolated' person and the actual, 'social' person. The attempt to eliminate the former notion in favour of the latter led him back to the verbal antithesis between individualism and collectivism which his transpersonalism was meant to overcome. Similarly the false antithesis between an imperialistic psychology and an imperialistic sociology led, in the heat of polemical controversy, to formulations which gave the unwary reader the impression that Durkheim had abandoned conciliation and was defending outright collectivism. Underlying the scholastic disputations about whether the individual should be considered on the analogy of a monad or an organ, Durkheim asserted a teleological transpersonalism based on the 'normative fact' of a simultaneous and complementary increase in solidarity and personality as the keynote of all social activity, the ultimate purpose at which all social ideals were aimed, and the ultimate source from which all moral rules were derived.

Durkheim's attempt to eliminate the false antithesis between individual and society took the form of an analysis of social statics and dynamics in relation to the division of labour. It was not conceived from the narrow economic viewpoint but as the modern source of social organisation and social cohesion, based upon the specialised functional diversity of co-operating associates, rather than

primitive social solidarity based upon a common consciousness, which imposed homogeneity directly on all the members of the community.³² These two forms of sociability, to which Durkheim gave the misleading names 'organic' and 'mechanical' solidarity, were not mutually exclusive, but Durkheim maintained that the former type was progressively eliminating the latter in modern civilised society. The social structure characteristic of a community based upon mechanical solidarity, e.g. the clan, was a holistic one in which common beliefs, property and consanguinity integrated homogeneous individual 'segments.' Relations were unilateral and not reciprocal, the edicts of the super-personal, collective consciousness brooking no divergence and being sanctioned by expiatory, repressive law.³³ The social structure characteristic of a community based upon organic solidarity was one in which social unity was grounded upon a plurality of differentiated functions. Social authority ceased to be a super-personal absolute and became one functional institution within a transpersonal social organisation, differing in degree and not in kind from the other specialised social functions.³⁴

The development of the division of labour at the expense of segmental solidarity was, in Durkheim's opinion, determined principally by morphological forces: increases in the volume and density of societies, manifested particularly by the breakdown of barriers between self-sufficient segments, owing to the growth in number and concentration of population in towns and the increase in the number and rapidity of means of communication, enforced by the struggle for survival. As a result of the extension of societies, the ancient unity of belief became increasingly fragile, abstract, impersonal, formal and vulnerable to the criticisms prompted by the growing rationality associated with a functional civilisation. Individual variations in religion, custom, etc. increased, and greater social mobility led to a decline in traditional and hereditary authority which could no longer be effectively enforced. The implicit advocacy by Durkheim of the substitution of a highly dynamic, immanent, functional solidarity for the stagnant, transcendental, ideological solidarity of the past, reveals him to be in the true succession of Proudhon in his opposition to de Maistre's super-personal and theological and Comte's holistic and authoritarian conception of solidarity. This is because in the prevailing 'permanent state of unstable equilibrium'³⁵ which, like Proudhon, he regarded as characteristic of contemporary social life, it was possible to combine

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increased personal freedom with increased social solidarity.

The principal reason why increasing specialisation normally resulted in increased social solidarity was that social cohesion depended fundamentally upon the spontaneous recognition by all of the social and moral implications of increasing interdependence, the juridico-moral order merely expressing an objective status quo. However, it was not sufficient that each person had a task; it had to be suitable. Where aptitude and function were not correlated, the order based upon this 'pathological' solidarity gave rise to class conflict and a return to repression because the legal superstructure no longer corresponded with the underlying, social substructure. 'The division of labour only produces solidarity if it is spontaneous. But by spontaneity must be understood not merely the absence of all express and formal violence, but all that might hinder, even indirectly, the free expression of the social force that each person carries with him. It not only presupposes that all individuals are not relegated by force to particular functions, but furthermore that no obstacle, of whatever kind, prevents them from occupying in the social framework a place in conformity with their gifts. In a word, labour is only spontaneously divided if society is so constituted that social inequalities exactly reflect natural inequalities.'³⁶ Only when equity had been embodied in social relations, when equal merit received equal opportunity and reward, when hereditary wealth and poverty ceased to falsify contractual relations, would functional social harmony result in a just and moral solidarity based upon the social division of labour; for 'the economic services that it is capable of rendering are trivial by comparison with its moral effect, and its true function is to create between two or more people a feeling of solidarity.'³⁷

The Pluralist Approach.

Even before the publication of the preface to the second edition of *De la Division du Travail Social*, devoted to professional groups, and the posthumous appearance in 1950 of his *Leçons de Sociologie*, consisting of lectures originally delivered in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Durkheim had given a clear indication of the pluralistic character of the social solidarity he was analysing. The neo-monistic terminology he employed was explicitly for the purpose of simplifying the description.³⁸ Just as increasing specialisation led to the simultaneous, complementary development of individual

personality and social solidarity, it also led to the simultaneous and complementary development of state intervention and the autonomy of voluntary associations. However, the limits of minimum social solidarity guaranteed by the state, backed where necessary by its coercive force, were passed by 'the relations regulated by co-operative law based upon restitutive sanctions,' deriving from local and functional solidarities which increasing specialisation was progressively extending and multiplying; and whose rules, because of their relative and limited character, could not have the transcendent authority to demand expiation when they were infringed.³⁹

Even within the terms of the organicist analogy, Durkheim maintained that social unity was based at least as much upon the *spontaneous consensus* of its members, the underlying social solidarity, as upon the regulative action of the superstructural social institutions.⁴⁰ Social harmony and solidarity came from below, were immanent in the various groups and associations which constituted society rather than transcendent and super-personal. It was spontaneous, implicitly natural and rational, rather than the artefact of a hypostasised supreme will. It was unity in diversity, the infinite complexity of special interests and groups extending far beyond the reach of the state in any but their superficial aspects. For Durkheim, the defining characteristic of political society—distinct from the state—was an authority which only appeared in communities which were composed of 'a plurality of elementary societies, political societies being necessarily polycellular or polysegmentary.'⁴¹ He repudiated any attempt to make political society anterior or posterior to the groups—familial, professional, etc.—which composed it, affirming their reciprocal development and simultaneity arising out of their solidarity.⁴² Durkheim here circumvented the false antithesis between society and the plurality of associations, just as he previously rejected the antithesis between society and the individual. In both cases it was to their fundamental interdependence that he pointed, their 'normally' co-ordinate and co-operative, rather than subordinate and servile solidarity.

Nor were the individual and the state antithetical. The complex groups which composed the state were merely one, albeit the most powerful, of the specialised organs of political society.⁴³ The state was the organising focus of the multitude of social groups which made up society, playing a modest, though increasingly important rôle in decentralised social activity. Without being limited to the

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negative function of protecting the natural rights of the individual, the state's positive task was to extend effective personal liberty based upon social rights. He claimed that this conception was personalist, simultaneously refusing to confine the state to a limitative rôle and to impute to it, because of its right to intervene constructively to remedy social inefficiency and injustice, the properties of a mystical entity with purposes divorced from those of its citizens. It was because Durkheim categorically denied that the state could pursue ends other than those of the individual that he could echo the half-truth of another champion of government intervention, Dupont-White, in affirming: 'the stronger is the State, the more is the individual respected.'⁴⁴

However, Durkheim appreciated that though in its capacity as the defender of the rights and interests of all its citizens from group tyrannies, the state effectively prevented piecemeal despotisms, unless its power were counterbalanced, it too could become despotic, and on a grand scale. This led him to conclude in Proudhonian vein that the power of the state 'should be limited by other collective forces, i.e. by secondary groups . . . And it is out of the conflict of social forces that individual liberties are born.'⁴⁵ More wholeheartedly than Proudhon, he regarded political democracy, through the high degree of intimacy and continuity of contact between the government and the rest of political society which it involved, as especially well fitted for the task of counterbalancing the power of the state by the pressure of the numerous economic, political, religious, cultural and other groups. There was no superposition of government over governed, though the electoral procedure and political institutions in vogue even in democratic states only represented, at best, the wishes of the majority of a majority and all too often the majority of a minority. The governing minority remained sensitive to changing public opinion which free debate and criticism provoked and publicised. From this intimate communion between society and state (associated with the increasing impact of the fact of solidarity upon the former) resulted the tendency for the democratic state to increase the range of matters with which it was directly or indirectly concerned, without the concomitant growth of despotism which the orthodox liberal thinkers of the nineteenth century had pessimistically prophesied.⁴⁶ The prominent part which trade and professional associations have come to play in the formulation and administration of social and economic policy in the twentieth century Welfare State,

is an aspect of this development.

From Pluralism to Syndicalism.

To bring into even closer contact the groups constituting political society and the work of government, Durkheim championed indirect election through functional, especially professional groups, 'natural and permanent groups . . . the natural and normal organs of social bodies,' in preference to territorial constituencies which were a survival from the days of mechanical solidarity into the era of organic solidarity.⁴⁷ He regarded this mode of election as having the double advantage of creating a network of intermediate associations which would protect the individual against state oppression and the state against individual ignorance and egoism. In place of the class-struggle and economic crises which were the symptoms of capitalism's inability to reconcile the needs of the individual and the prevailing social order, Durkheim advocated a reformist syndicalism. This is not to be confused with the revolutionary syndicalism of a Sorel, Lagardelle or Pouget which substituted an exclusively proletarian solidarity of hate for the social solidarity of reconciliation through social justice envisaged by Durkheim. Nor should it be confused with the fossilised medieval corporations too closely linked with 'segmental,' economic semi-self-sufficiency to which the Social Catholics harked back.⁴⁸ Durkheim looked to the professional associations rather than the state to provide the economic organisation necessary to post-Industrial Revolution civilisation because, like Proudhon, he regarded economic life as too vast, complex and extensive to be dealt with by a centralised bureaucracy. He preferred to rely on the functional, piecemeal economic democracy of professional organisations to provide the new foundation of social solidarity, rather than, with the orthodox economists, to abandon all hope of effective social regulation. He looked to the professional associations to regulate wages and conditions of work, provide pensions and welfare services in diverse ways appropriate to the conditions prevailing in each profession. Special tribunals—a modification of the 'Conseils de Prud'hommes' and similar to the Whitley Councils whose creation was to be recommended by a Committee set up in the year in which he died—were to settle industrial disputes without resort to strikes.⁴⁹

The moralistic element in Durkheim's politico-economic scheme of professionally organised solidarity to give explicit and effective

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expression to the spontaneous solidarity engendered by the social force of ever-extending specialisation, is unmistakable in his frank declaration of motive in the preface to the second edition of *De la Division du Travail Social*. 'The professional group represents for us, above all, a moral authority capable of limiting individual egoisms, of preserving in the hearts of the workers a stronger feeling of their common solidarity, of preventing the law of the stronger from being applied so brutally to industrial and commercial relations.'⁵⁰ In expounding his own views in lectures on Socialism, he optimistically asserted that 'the professional group might well satisfy all the conditions we have laid down. On the one hand, it will not weigh heavily on industry, it is sufficiently close to the interests it will have to regulate not to repress them excessively. Furthermore, like every group formed of individuals united by ties of interest, ideas, and feelings, it is capable of being a moral force for its members. If it were made a formal social organ, whereas it is as yet only a private society; if some of the rights and duties which the State is increasingly incapable of exercising and carrying out were transferred to it; if it were put in charge of administering things, industries and arts which the State cannot run because of its remoteness from material things; if it had the necessary power to resolve certain conflicts, to vary the general laws of society to suit particular kinds of work, gradually, through the influence that it will exercise through the rapprochement between the work of all, it will acquire the moral authority which will enable it to play the rôle of brake without which economic stability would be impossible.'⁵¹

This vision of social peace based upon syndicalist solidarity in which all classes were united in the pursuit of social justice, whose outlines Durkheim only barely sketched, and whose publication was for the most part posthumous, was given more detailed exposition at the turn of the century. This service was performed by an eminent jurist, Léon Duguit, who in *L'Etat, le droit objectif et la loi positive* (1901) embarked upon his task with an iconoclastic assault upon the dogmas of both individualism and statism.

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¹ It has been essential, for reasons of space, to compress to a bare minimum the references to sources and the justification of certain points made in the analysis. Those seeking more detail in both these respects will find them in the notes to Chapters 14 and 15 of my Ph.D. thesis: 'The idea of solidarity in French social and political thought in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,' Vol. II, pp. 940-77. Copies may be consulted either at the University of London Senate House Library or at the British Library of Political and Economic Science. For a discussion of the historical background, see my article 'Solidarity: the social history of an idea in nineteenth century France' in the *International Review of Social History*, 1959, IV, Part 2, pp. 261-84.

Two of Durkheim's posthumous books have recently been translated into English: *Leçons de Sociologie* under the title *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals* (1957) and *Le Socialisme* under the title *Socialism and Saint-Simon* (1958). However, all quotations in this article are from the French editions and have been translated specifically for it.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the fact that several of the ideas developed in this article were influenced by the reading of Professor Georges Gurwitsch's absorbing books on *L'Idée du Droit Social* (1932), *Le temps présent et l'Idée du Droit Social* (1932) and *Éléments de Sociologie Juridique* (1940).

² E. Cayret: *Le Procès de l'Individualisme Juridique*, 1932, p. 145.

³ *Sociologie et Philosophie*, 1924, (1954 ed.), p. 58. Durkheim was born in 1858 and died in 1917.

⁴ Bouglé in *Europe*, 1930, Vol. XXII, p. 283.

⁵ *Sociologie et Philosophie*, op. cit., pp. 47-48, 104-05, 137, 140-41.

⁶ *Règles de la Méthode Sociologique*, 1895, (8th ed. 1927), pp. 14-15, 57-58; cf. *De la Division du Travail Social*, 1893, (2nd ed. 1902), pp. 28-32, 393-94; *Le Socialisme*, 1928, p. 180; *Leçons de Sociologie*, 1950, pp. 6, 12.

⁷ *Le Socialisme*, p. 214.

⁸ *Leçons de Sociologie*, p. 16 et seq., 22.

⁹ *Le Socialisme*, pp. 149-50; cf. pp. 150-54, 234. For the origin of sociology, Durkheim went back even beyond Saint-Simon.

(Montesquieu et Rousseau, *précurseurs de la Sociologie*, posthumously published in 1953, p. 110).

¹⁰ *Le Socialisme*, Book II, Ch. 6 and 7 *passim*; cf. *Division du Travail*, p. 26.

¹¹ *Division du Travail*, pp. 348-52.

¹² *Leçons de Sociologie*, pp. 190-93, 250; *Le Socialisme*, p. 247; cf. 225 et seq. On the relationship between religion, morality and society, see *Sociologie et Philosophie*, p. 100 et seq.

¹³ *Année Sociologique*, 1912, Vol. XII, p. 326; cf. H. Alpert: *E. Durkheim and his Sociology*, p. 34. See articles by Durkheim in *Revue Philosophique*, XXIV, 1887; pp. 33-58, 113-42, 275-84 and in the *Revue d'Economie Politique*, Jan.-Feb. 1888, entitled 'Le Programme Economique de M. Schaeffle.'

¹⁴ On Espinas, see G. Davy: *Sociologues d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui*, 1931, Part I. However, in *De Jaurès à Léon Blum*, 1938, H. Bourgin claimed that Espinas was hostile to Durkheim, apparently on 'bien pensant' political grounds. (pp. 90-91).

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¹⁵ *L'Irréligion de l'Avenir*, p. III: cf. I-III, *L'Art*, p. XLIX. See Durkheim's review of Guyau's *L'Irréligion de l'Avenir* in *Revue Philosophique*, 1887, pp. 299-311.

¹⁶ *L'Irréligion*, pp. XV-XVIII, 323; *Esquisse d'une Morale*, pp. 232-33; *Education et Hérité*, pp. 54-57; cf. Durkheim: *De la Division du Travail Social*, Book III, Ch. 1.

¹⁷ *Esquisse d'une Morale*, p. 150; cf. *L'Irréligion*, p. 340; Durkheim: *Division du Travail*, pp. 398-400.

¹⁸ Fouillée: *Science Sociale Contemporaine*, 1880, (5th ed. 1910), p. VIII; cf. VII-IX; *La Pensée*, p. 211; Durkheim: *Sociologie et Philosophie*, p. 136; cf. 88-90.

¹⁹ *Division du Travail*, p. 206; cf. 79 et seq. *Leçons de Sociologie*, Ch. 17 and 18, especially pp. 242-45.

²⁰ R. Maublanc in *Europe*, 1930, Vol. XXII, p. 299. See also Durkheim's posthumous *Pragmatisme et Sociologie*, 1955, p. 76.

²¹ *Division du Travail Social*, p. XXXVII.

²² *Méthode Sociologique*, pp. 26, 96, 144-45, 154; *Le Suicide*, 1897, p. 382.

²³ *Division du Travail Social*, pp. 374-80.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. XLIV, note; *Revue Philosophique*, 1893, Vol. XXXV, pp. 290-96.

²⁵ *Essai sur l'origine de l'idée du droit*, 1892, p. 261; cf. pp. 28-29, 36-38, 153, 246-47, 253-55, 259, 262-63; and Durkheim's *Division du Travail Social*, pp. 90-91.

²⁶ 'Sur les Lois de la Solidarité Morale,' article in *Revue Philosophique*, Vol. LX, 1905, pp. 441-42.

²⁷ 'La Morale et la Question Sociale,' contribution to the symposium *Questions du temps présent*, 1911, pp. 94-95. See also *La Loi Morale, les Lois Naturelles et les Lois Sociales*, 1937, especially pp. 9-10, 33-36, 43-44.

²⁸ *Division du Travail Social*, pp. XLIII-IV; cf. Mauss' introduction to *Le Socialisme*, p. V.

²⁹ *Le Socialisme*, pp. 50, 74-79, 100 sq.; *Division du Travail Social*, pp. 358-59, p. 380; *Méthode Sociologique*, pp. 32, 34.

³⁰ *Pragmatisme et Sociologie*, p. 196; cf. 185-87; *Méthode Sociologique*, pp. 94-95, 126-28, 152; *Sociologie et Philosophie*, pp. 9, 39-44, 74-78, 106.

³¹ *Méthode Sociologique*, pp. 40-43; cf. H. Alpert: *Durkheim and his Sociology*, pp. 135-60.

³² *Division du Travail Social*, pp. 24, 46, 78, 99-101, 256-67 note.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 146; cf. p. 35 et seq.

³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 157-58.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 320; cf. 119, 237, et seq., 267 et seq., 327 et seq.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 370. The practical implications of Durkheim's social functionalism are very different from the quietist apologetics of Bradley's chapter on 'My station and its duties' in his *Ethical Studies*.

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- ³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 19; cf. 378, 381-82, 396; *Le Socialisme*, pp. 287, 290-93.
- ³⁸ *Division du Travail Social*, p. 74, note; cf. *Leçons de Sociologie*, pp. 8-10.
- ³⁹ *Division du Travail Social*, pp. 96-97.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 351.
- ⁴¹ *Leçons de Sociologie*, p. 57; cf. 55-56; *Division du Travail Social*, pp. XXXII, 351.
- ⁴² *Leçons*, p. 57.
- ⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 59-61.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 71; cf. pp. 70, 78, 82-83.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 77-78. The threat from professional associations, in Durkheim's opinion (which fewer will share in the mid-twentieth century), was less menacing than that from the state because their specialised character and lack of coercive power denied them general authority. (*Division du Travail Social*, pp. 289-90).
- ⁴⁶ *Leçons*, pp. 94-104.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 122; cf. 124; *Division du Travail Social*, pp. XXXI-II.
- ⁴⁸ *Leçons*, pp. 23-46; cf. pp. 125-30; *Le Suicide*, 1897, pp. 438-39.
- ⁴⁹ *Leçons*, pp. XXXVIII, 44-46, 50-51; *Division du Travail Social*, pp. XXIX-XXXI, 166-67; *Le Suicide*, p. 437.
- ⁵⁰ *Division du Travail Social*, pp. XI-XII; cf. *Le Suicide*, pp. 435-441.
- ⁵¹ *Le Socialisme*, pp. 296-97.

FAMILY COHESION IN LEISURE TIME*

Erwin K. Scheuch

I.

With the further shortening of working hours and progressing urbanisation and industrialisation, the interest in leisure as a subject of sociological importance appears still to be growing. The fact that leisure, instead of being a prerogative of certain classes, is now available to all social strata and is more sharply differentiated from work than before has been well recognized in its potential importance for our societies.¹ Besides macrosociological analyses² and social-philosophical reflections, we are beginning to accumulate a body of detailed data from empirical studies.³ Yet these data are often dissatisfying, being collected more with their application in adult education, social planning, etc., in mind and with such frames of reference as 'human self-realization,' rather than with a more genuine sociological orientation.

Such a non-theoretical and largely non-sociological approach appears to prevail also in the field of family research. While it seems evident that the extension of leisure in length and its growing availability to all social classes does have profound repercussions on the family, it is difficult to develop a scheme of these effects with the kind of data we now possess. Furthermore, it is surprising to find that while publications on family sociology refer to the importance of leisure, they usually remain mere references of a mostly apodictic nature; treatments of the interrelationship of both leisure and the family are still scarce.⁴ Thus, assumptions, speculations, and opinions prevail, among which two basic approaches may be distinguished.

It is usually recognized that the development of the modern family during the process of industrialisation was accompanied by a loss of functions. Some authors maintain that more or less only the reproductive and the companionship functions, or functions of socialization and affectional functions have been retained.⁵ Such a

* This is the second report on a series of surveys in Cologne to appear in this Journal. The previous article was by René König on 'Family and Authority,' published in Vol. 5 (1957), pp. 107-127.

loss of functions and their transference to specialized institutions leads many to believe that the leisure functions, too, have followed this process of disintegration. This appears to be the dominant opinion among family sociologists, often coupled with the belief that commercial and organisational provisions have largely taken the place of the family, and that leisure in general has turned into a merely individualistic concern.⁶

There is, however, another and smaller group of authors who believe in exactly the opposite tendency. The loss of functions in general is not doubted, but there is disagreement as to the consequences for leisure. It is maintained that the reduction in the number of functions has been accompanied by a strengthening of remaining functions, which constitute the new basis for the continuing institution of the family.⁷ In accordance with the increasing importance of companionship or emotional functions, leisure is considered to be a factor of mounting consequence for the demonstration of and the assistance in family cohesion.⁸ To some, leisure is supposed to grow into one of the central functions of the modern family.

Very little empirical evidence has been presented for the first of these contentions. Often the basis for such statements is merely the familiar scheme for denouncing the present, namely to confront a biased picture of now prevailing patterns with an idealized version of the behaviour of selected groups in the past. But in general the material presented for the second of the above mentioned positions also appears inconclusive, mainly because only individual activities are studied by using descriptive categories for analysis.⁹ It is frequently very hard to proceed from this to theoretical conclusions, due to the ambiguity in the meaning of individual leisure activities, the fact that at best (and mostly not even that) only the physical proximity of the family is ascertained, and the general difficulties arising from these limitations to arrive at patterns of leisure.

Procedures.

The common way to study leisure is to classify responses into descriptive categories, following the distinctions made in every-day usage (e.g., 'reading,' 'going for walks'), and then to analyse successively the distributions in these categories. We consider it a special feature of the material which we shall present from some studies in Cologne that, in addition to the usual procedure, more

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abstract categories related to theoretical conceptions were used. Furthermore, these abstract categories were not only employed in the analysis stage of these studies, but also for classifying responses during the field work. We shall concentrate here on the results achieved with the more abstract categories and some rarely asked questions, largely in so far as they can be related to the two general modes for the appraisal of leisure which were outlined in the beginning. The results obtained with the type of questions and other indicators usually employed in surveys and with the conventional type of classification will be mostly omitted, since these data largely just duplicated already available information. The remaining material which we shall present certainly does not constitute a systematic test of the two positions in appraising leisure, but it is hoped that this material may be acceptable as additional evidence for the relatively greater validity of one of those positions. It is further hoped, however, that this material might stimulate attempts to refine the rather global orientation implied in the general statements on the interrelationship of leisure and family life. An additional characteristic feature of the material is that in investigating the dependent variables again not only individual factors were employed successively, but bundles of such factors defined by scaling methods, as well as further abstract categories with a theoretical meaning.

The interrelationship between leisure and the family was touched upon in several investigations of the *Forschungsinstitut für Sozial- und Verwaltungswissenschaften* at the University of Cologne. We shall primarily refer to data from a study carried out as part of a cumulative community survey in Cologne (750,000 pop.) in 1954/55 and amended in 1956.¹⁰ Altogether 1,500 respondents were selected by three different sampling methods and the representativeness of each of the three samples is well established.¹¹ For a supplement and a comparison of these findings we shall draw upon the results of a nation-wide survey during 1954/55 of the German opinion research institute 'EMNID,' based on 1,757 interviews with married or formerly married persons.¹²

The criteria for classifying leisure time activities as 'solitary' or 'social' have, in most studies, been decided upon only after the completion of field work. Quite frequently—as we learned in the earlier stages of our enquiries—such a procedure may overlook or lead to an incorrect assignment of what we would like to call 'con-

comitant activities,' i.e., activities performed simultaneously, part of which might be an interaction (such as listening to the radio and at the same time conversing with a family member). Therefore, we used several open-ended and precoded questions at the same time, coupled with extensive but partially guided probing in order to arrive at an abstract classification of all leisure activities—activities performed inside the house versus outside activities, and activities involving interaction with family members versus activities without such interaction—each with sub-categories such as using commercial institutions versus not using these, etc.

II.

The prevailing pattern of spending leisure time proved to be staying inside the home, whether pursuing solitary activities or interacting with family members—the latter including more often several family members and not just the spouse. Outside activities are much rarer and they too are predominantly familial in character.¹³ Thus, even activities which are often treated as examples of solitary or individualistic leisure like visiting cinemas, and other outside activities like going for walks—both fairly frequent—were rarely engaged in by just one family member, and also included quite often interaction and not just physical proximity (see also section V).

Is this merely so because families are isolated units within an urbanised and industrialised environment? There appears to be evidence that this family-centredness is not concomitant with lack of contacts. When asked about frequent social contacts, only about 10 per cent. of our total sample population reported not having them and all others interviewed mentioned such contacts with a median around 5 persons.¹⁴ More indicative still, married persons had more frequent social contacts than any other group of the sample and in a great number of cases the spouses entered into these contacts together. It may be a peculiar feature of German cities that neighbours did not figure prominently in such contacts, as in general an emphasis on preserving social distance towards one's neighbours seems to be rather the dominant sentiment. By contrast, the high frequency of interaction with relatives which we observed was recently demonstrated to hold for an English and an American city.¹⁵ However, the EMNID study showed that though such contacts with relatives are exceedingly frequent, they are considerably less valued than they are practiced.¹⁶

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Quite different from this picture of the position of relatives is the impression one gains when confronting wishes and behaviour in regard to common leisure with members of one's nuclear family. When asked what one would like to do when additional time and money were available, the wish to devote that time to the immediate family was the third most frequent of 14 responses, in spite of the already very high frequency of such behaviour. The two higher ranking wishes were travel and theatre attendance, whose present fulfilment is restricted by the availability of time and money and for which the level of actual behaviour is conspicuously low. Significantly, theatre attendance and travel are also two types of activities which are usually entered into with the family or at least with the spouse.

All present evidence leads to the conclusion that leisure within the family is preferred and not forced upon the participants. This may at the same time be taken as an expression of a previously demonstrated trend in the German family towards what René König calls 'Überorganisation' (over-organization)—which may be defined as a tendency to monopolise all emotionally meaningful relationships within the nuclear family.

III.

Important as it may be to refute erroneous conceptions about the place of the family in leisure, the interrelationship between both can better be seen by showing differentiations in time and in sub-groups. We shall first discuss breakdowns of results as to time periods.

In the main study in Cologne we distinguished between leisure activities during working days and at weekends. The results could be confirmed by comparisons with other studies of ours as well as with the nation-wide survey of EMNID. The following table abstracts the findings with respect to changes in the relative importance of activities on working days and on weekends:¹⁷

Rank-order of type of activity	<i>Working days</i>	<i>Weekends</i>
	at home/non-family	outside/family
	at home/family	at home/non-family†
	outside/non-family	at home/family†
	outside/family	outside/non-family

†No significant difference between the frequencies for these categories.

According to this table the family is relatively more important for leisure during weekends than on working days, while the opposite holds for the importance of the home as a place for spending

leisure. This and other results of our studies suggest that indeed family-centredness of leisure and its restriction to the home are quite different dimensions. At the same time the table leads us to presume that longer time for leisure is favourable for family cohesion. This assumption can be strengthened by another breakdown, the length of time available for leisure per respondent by type of activity, which shows that family orientation grows stronger with more free time.¹⁸ There is confirming evidence from the EMNID study, as well as from a comparison of wishes and behaviour in our investigation. This leads us to agree with Fröhner, 'Too short leisure time is the enemy of family cohesion.'¹⁹ Accordingly, we cannot agree with the frequent pessimistic forecasts in Germany about the destructive character of more leisure. Moreover, the further observation that monotony in spending leisure decreases with the length of free time available also speaks against such neo-puritan predictions.²⁰

For material on a third time period, the yearly holiday, we have to turn to results from the EMNID study.²¹ Somewhat surprisingly this investigation showed that for holidays the proportions of respondents who either wished to or actually did spend their leisure together with their family is lower than it is reported for Sundays.

<i>Responses</i>	<i>Sundays</i>		<i>Vacations</i>	
	<i>Behaviour</i>	<i>Wish</i>	<i>Behaviour</i>	<i>Wish</i>
Together with the whole family ...	53%	65%	47%	56%
Together with part of the family ...	31%	19%	31%	27%
Alone or with non-family members ...	16%	16%	22%	17%

It is pertinent to note that in marriages without children, wishes and reported behaviour coincide much closer than for families with children. This points to the important role children play in limiting the choice of leisure activities, a point which has been vividly demonstrated by Alva Myrdal²²—but it also shows along with other evidence that the considerable family-orientation in leisure is not just an acquiescence to the responsibilities of child-rearing.

We might summarise our various results on the distribution of leisure among different periods of time as follows: (1) working day leisure appears to have largely the function of diversion and restoration for the individual; (2) vacations are more family-oriented, but either due to practical limitations or to preferences more indi-

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vidualistic than expected; (3) the time period specifically set aside for the family is the weekend.²³ At this point it may be added that for weekdays there is one important time period at least where the whole family is reunited, although this is not included in the prevailing definitions of leisure: most families take at least two meals a day together and in nearly all cases the family is together for dinner.²⁴

IV.

The overall patterns reported above vary strongly in different sub-groups of the population. We know from many investigations that leisure activities vary strongly with income, age, education, etc. On the whole these differences are also found in our studies,²⁵ but in order to avoid the duplication of existing information they are not considered here. It is believed, however, that the abstract categories used in our breakdowns yielded some additional information.

Social status.

We were especially interested in the influence of social status, since this is usually a determinant with an extraordinary generality of effect. Social status was measured in the sense of social prestige by a multi-dimensional scale (or index) of nine criteria—although we shall call the resulting classifications of grouped cases 'social classes.' In accordance with the notion that prestige is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, the scoring was designed in such a way that a low score on one criterion (e.g., education) could be compensated by a high one on another criterion (e.g., personal income), so that cases might appear with equal final scores that had quite different ratings on the individual criteria.²⁶ Conceptually, the scale was defined as a reproduction of reactions which a constellation of certain prestige-giving characteristics, observable in loose interaction between previous strangers, would induce in the 'alters' in social intercourse, so that this conjunction of characteristics would lead to a person's consistent assignment of a position in a prestige hierarchy.²⁷ The nine criteria of the scale were selected from three groups of factors which we found to meet this definition and which at the same time would be easy to ascertain in surveys, viz., economic, occupational, and cultural variables. An important divergence from other social status scales were 'cultural' criteria, which included not only the customary item education, but also criteria

A. *Relative Importance of Types of Activity on Working Days.*
(Rank-order of frequencies for four categories).

Lower- lower Class	Upper- lower Class	Lower- middle Class	Middle- middle Class	Upper- middle Class	Upper Classes
at home/ non-family	at home/ non-family	at home/ non-family	at home/ non-family	at home/ non-family	at home/ non-family
at home/ family	at home/ family	at home/ family	at home/ family	at home/ family	at home/ family
outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ family
outside/ family	outside/ family	outside/ family	outside/ family	outside/ family	outside/ non-family

B. *Relative Importance of Types of Activities on Weekends.*

Lower- lower Class	Upper- lower Class	Lower- middle Class	Middle- middle Class	Upper- middle Class	Upper Classes
at home/ non-family	outside/ family	outside/ family	outside/ family	outside/ family	outside/ family
outside/ family	at home/* family	at home/ family	at home/ non-family	at home/ non-family	at home/ family
at home/ family	at home/* non-family	at home/ non-family	at home/ family	at home/ family	at home/ non-family
outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family	outside/ non-family

* No significant difference between the frequencies for these categories.

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which were supposed to gauge the respondent's ability to participate in prestige-giving cultural activities (e.g., theatre attendance, reading of certain groups of books). This social status scale was rather extensively tested for validity and has been applied successfully in a number of investigations.

It should not be overlooked that table A abstracts from considerable variations in percentages. Nevertheless, it appears pertinent to note that during working days the pattern remains the same for all groups, with the only exception of the upper classes. It is the weekend where the different patterns in leisure activities between social classes are most pronounced.

Although there might at first seem less variation than expected, one should observe that only in the middle and upper-middle classes does the sequence in the type of activity coincide with the average pattern for the population in general. This is all the more remarkable since these two most 'normal' classes constitute only about 15 per cent. and 14 per cent. respectively of the sample. It is also to be noted that the two extremes in the status scale display the most extreme difference in leisure patterns. In general, the actual percentages show a stronger trend with increasing social class to emphasise a 'weekend culture' in which leisure is spent largely outside the home and devoted to the family, and in being more different from working day leisure the higher the social status. This weekend culture is further characterised in that the diversity of activities increases for the weekend. This increase tends to be stronger the higher the social stratum, just as the variability of leisure—both during the week and at weekends—becomes greater with higher social class.

Type of Family.

A further complex factor used as an independent variable in breakdowns was 'type of family,' defined by the composition of membership in co-residence. Thus, we designated: (1) 'couples' where just husband and wife lived together; (2) parents and first generation descendents as 'nuclear families'; (3) three and more generations living together as 'extended families'; (4) one parent and children as 'incomplete families'; (5) other—and surprisingly varied—compositions as 'mixed types.' Here we shall only report on the first three types of family, which are considered most 'normal' and at the same time comprise the great majority of the investigated

population²⁸ and shall add for reasons of contrast occasional results for single persons.

The patterns observed in breakdowns did not always conform to our expectations nor to prevailing contentions. Thus we found the expected pattern that persons living alone prefer to spend their leisure outside—but it can also be shown that the next in preferring outside activities are members of extended families. Members of the latter family type are also less inclined to spend leisure together with the family, and this becomes even more pronounced at weekends. The most traditional type of the family shows thus the least cohesion in leisure time—perhaps because of the greater chances for role conflicts inherent in its composition when in an urban environment.

In contrast, both nuclear families and couples appear far more home-oriented and the total figures do not vary greatly between these two family types. In a further differentiation, however, the patterns can be shown to vary, with the couples being relatively less home-oriented during working days and more so during weekends than is true for the spouses in nuclear families.²⁹ Furthermore, couples report less leisure of the non-family type than is true for any other form of the family. Summarising the various data characteristic for couples one may infer that for this family type the danger of 'overorganisation' is greater than for any of the other types investigated here.

All our observations make it appear unlikely that the loss of members in the family (*loi de contraction*) is accompanied by a corresponding loss in the importance of its leisure functions. Leisure definitely does change with such contraction from the extended to the nuclear family and ultimately to the couple. It appears, however, more likely that the demands on the family to afford a manifold, satisfying leisure become too high to be adequately met, rather than that such demands dwindle away, as the sceptics with regard to the modern family seem to believe.

Authority in the Family.

As a third complex variable in breakdowns, 'authority in the family' was defined by a scale distinguishing between five forms of distribution of authority: (1) patriarchal families; (2) families led by husbands; (3) equalitarian families; (4) families led by wives; (5) matriarchal families. A case was assigned to one of the two extreme

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categories (1) and (5) if there was a rather complete factual dominance by one spouse with regard to our criteria plus an agreement of the respondent's attitudes with the factual situations. Either (2) or (4) were scored when one spouse controlled a greater number and the more important spheres of decisions without dominating all, and when a factual dominance was not accepted in the attitudes of the partners involved.

Although the instrument we used served to arrange cases on positions along a continuum and may thus be called a scale, it is of a different type of multi-dimensionality than the social status scale. Technically speaking, cases were fitted into the cells of a many-dimensional table, with rank orders assigned to the different cells so as to form a final distribution along one continuum of overall authority. Thus, the scores to the individual criteria were not simply additive, but partly contingent upon one another. Conceptually, the scale was designed to measure what we called the 'situational approach' to ascertain authority, in that overall authority was considered the resultant of observed constellations of factual control over various fields of decision-making in every-day family behaviour, the significance of behaviour being reinforced or modified by the normative evaluation of the appropriateness of the actual behaviour. Accordingly, behaviour in ten selected situations was defined as crucial for overall authority—e.g., handling of daily finances, control of investments, control in the choice of selected leisure activities, setting goals in the upbringing of children—together with considering the norms of the respondent regarding dominance in these spheres.³⁰ The intent of the questions for the individual criteria was disguised by placing these questions in innocuous contexts. This proved quite necessary since direct questions—not incorporated in the scale—on overall authority in the family showed that the topic as such is emotionally 'loaded' and perhaps even conceptually unfamiliar to sizable proportions of respondents, with obvious dangers to the validity of responses, resulting in an overestimation of the frequency of equalitarian families.

The relationship between authority as defined by the scale and the patterns of leisure activities is fairly complex and at first difficult to trace. Several regroupings of data had to be performed and the importance of weekday and weekend activities had to be related to each other before meaningful patterns emerged. Because of the

small number of the two extreme forms of the family, we shall only report on the three middle forms (2-4). Of these, husband-led families comprised 16 per cent. of the sample of married persons, equalitarian families 49 per cent. and wife-led families 26 per cent.

During weekdays those families where the husband is in a position of leadership display a special preference for family-oriented activities. At the same time these families emphasize more than others the home as a place for leisure activities. If leisure is spent outside the home, it is spent together with the spouse relatively more often than in other forms of the family. Leisure during weekends differs from this picture in several respects. The stronger the position of the husband, the more often the weekend is spent outside the home. Individual hobbies are more important for the husband-led family than for the other families, and this is especially marked during weekends. It is very difficult to arrive at a general statement fitting all the individual results, but the following generalisation conforms to most of the observations. Families with the traditional form of leadership display also the more traditional patterns in spending leisure during working days, while the newer phenomenon of 'weekend culture' has not led to a consistent pattern of leisure.

Let us confront these tendencies with the other extreme:—families where the wife is leader. Both during weekends and working days, activities outside the home of a family-centred nature are more important for families led by the wife than is true for any other form of the family. Spending leisure on working days just in the company of the spouse instead of the whole family is contrary to the leisure patterns characteristic for this family form. During weekends, however, this way of pursuing leisure is fairly typical for wife-led families. At the same time there are more than average frequencies for family-centred activities in such families and even more marked is the aversion towards non-family contacts on weekends. There are several other characteristic results for this form of the family, such as the emphasis on gardening at weekends and the low frequency of hobbies in general during all phases of the week. More important appear two general conclusions: that (1) during working days families led by wives usually display the prevailing leisure patterns, while the weekends differ especially strongly from working day leisure, and (2) that solitary and other non-family leisure patterns appear to be definitely discouraged.¹¹

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It may at first seem surprising, but equalitarian families show a relatively high preference for having their leisure inside the home—both during working days and weekends. Yet at the same time leisure in these families is less family-oriented than is true for other forms of the family: non-family activities are relatively important and especially so during the weekend. On weekdays leisure in equalitarian families is overproportionally spent in the company of just the spouse rather than with the whole family; this does not, however, apply equally to outside activities. Although, in general, activities outside the home are relatively infrequent, equalitarian families show some tendency to prefer organized leisure—but as a couple rather than as a family or as individuals. Considering these and further responses one receives the impression that the equalitarian family conforms partly to the prevailing conception of how the 'modern' family spends leisure.³² Yet one should remember that the tendency for individual leisure, which is often maintained to be characteristic for the present-day family, is not nearly so dominant a tendency as assumed—and this holds for any of the forms of the family discussed here.³³

Status and authority.

One may treat the observed differences between patterns of leisure-time behaviour for various forms of the family merely as descriptions for important subgroups of the population. If one wants to go beyond that and interpret differences in leisure patterns as influenced by the distribution of authority in the family as a structural factor of this institution, one has also to consider the influence of social status. It can be shown that leisure patterns are influenced by social status and it can further be established that the distribution of authority between the spouses correlates quite strongly with social status, the position of the husband growing generally stronger with increasing social status.³⁴ Thus, for several of the relationships between authority and leisure patterns, social status is an important 'underlying variable.'

A closer examination shows that both authority structure and social status, though interrelated, have each a certain influence of their own, with social status usually somewhat more pervasive. The most general statement about the relative influence of authority and social status we can derive from our data is that leisure patterns during weekends are more dependent on social status, while the

distribution of authority is relatively a better predictor for the type of leisure during working days. Accordingly, in emphasizing the different tendencies of influence one might speak (with considerable oversimplification) of class-typed leisure on weekends and of authority-typed leisure during working days.

This in turn might encourage further speculation, such as formulating an hypothesis that patterns of spending leisure will be increasingly determined by social status, with the present pattern of the upper middle class as a model for the lower classes, while assuming that the differentiations by the distribution of authority represent 'surviving' influences of older structural factors. Remembering also that weekends tend to be characterized by leisure outside the home, one may equally conclude that 'public leisure' is more subject to patterning by social class, while 'private leisure' is more strongly determined by the varying rôle definitions arrived at between the spouses. Our data are, however, inadequate to arrive at a decision regarding such—partially conflicting—inferences. Nevertheless, we think it could again be suggested by the results of this section that studying leisure can be in our societies a useful point of departure for macro-sociological analyses.

V

Social occasions.

In addition to a set of general questions on leisure, there are some other indicators on how far and in which way leisure is a 'familial' activity. Let us first consider a multiple choice question where several selected social occasions were listed, in which one might participate as a married couple or an individual—such as meetings of associations, attendance at 'socials' of the husband's firm (by now a common and controversial institution in Germany), visits to clubs, invitations by acquaintances and neighbours, visits to church services, to cinemas, concerts and theatres, common walks (also a widespread ritual) and common outings.³⁵ Obviously the results of such an indicator do not simply reproduce the patterns and determinants of leisure outside the home, which we obtained from the general questions on leisure discussed so far. This question on the common attendance of a set of social occasions is in a sense a more selective indicator, in that it focuses on the willingness of a couple to appear together in social situations in which the choice of

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appearing together is largely left open to individual preference, or, formulated in another way, where no strong social sanctions are invoked by choosing one course or another. In a way this question tests the willingness of the couple to demonstrate togetherness to the outside world in situations of varying significance, thus supplementing previous information on the general degree of factual cohesion in outside leisure activities.

A breakdown by authority in the family showed that the stronger the position of the wife the more likely she is to accompany her husband to meetings of associations, 'socials' of his firm, to clubs, and to invitations by acquaintances, while the opposite holds for the products of the 'leisure industry,' i.e., attendance at cinemas, concerts and the theatre. In general, families dominated by the husband are less together for social occasions than is true for other forms of the family and especially rare are common visits to neighbours, going together on outings and for walks and attendance at church services. Most results of breakdowns can be related to the patterns of leisure in families with different distributions of authority. There is, however, one important additional fact: the pattern for the traditional, husband-led family deviates more from those of the other two forms of the family than these differ amongst each other.

A breakdown by social status reveals again (and confirms) that the variations in leisure patterns between families of different authority structure cannot be reduced merely to the influence of social class. Both lower classes display relatively low proportions of common activities for husband and wife, while the three middle strata show high averages for this type of leisure. These middle strata mainly differ amongst each other not so much in the level of common activities as in which occasions are attended by both spouses together. Middle middle and upper middle class families emphasize common visits to meetings of associations, to clubs, concerts, theatres and church services, as well as to invitations by neighbours, with respondents in the upper middle stratum displaying higher percentages for these activities of a mostly higher social prestige. Common walks are most frequent in the lower middle class and the same holds for attending cinemas and socials of the husband's firm—all of which are activities more characteristic for this social stratum. These differences gain in significance if one considers that our data show responses to this question on common

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participation of husband and wife in these social occasions to be strongly related to the valuation of leisure in general.

Content of conversations.

Another indicator for family interaction during leisure time is a rarely treated topic: content of evening conversations between the spouses. In interpreting the results of these questions as supplementary information one should, however, be aware of the rather low reliability of responses to a stimulus asking for such a difficult type of recall. Nevertheless, they may be considered useful indicators for the emotional climate in families.

According to these questions the most frequent topics are routine occurrences on the husband's job and during the wife's management of the household, the content of mass media of communication,³⁶ child raising, investments, money problems and common planning for the future. More abstractly one can say that the majority of conversations concern affairs of the present, centred around everyday happenings and focussed on family affairs.

The rather prominent place of media of mass communication as a conversation topic is only in part an exception to this general tendency. Although the content selected from these mass media is largely beyond the proper concern of the immediate family, it serves largely the functions of more or less inspired gossip, in that 'public' events are mainly considered only in so far as they can be understood as events happening to individuals in terms of 'human experience,' both of the unusual (e.g., court procedures, accidents, deviant behaviour) or the usual (e.g., heavy reading of obituaries) variety.³⁷ While a consideration of such information is probably important for normative integration beyond the limits of the family, it is largely irrelevant for identifying or familiarizing the individual with larger social processes. Thus, even this type of leisure interest fits in with the general impression of the 'private' and trivial content of conversations within the family. Nevertheless, the very fact of sharing private trivialities and emphasizing this common experience by re-living it in conversations, or even making it a common concern through talking about it, seems to be a most important factor for creating a 'we-feeling.' It should also be noted that the dominant themes of conversation offer good opportunities for the release of such tensions which might be associated with the affective neutrality, specificity and universalistic orientation usually prevail-

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ing during non-leisure time.³⁴

A comparison of conversation topics in families with different authority structures showed that the frequency of conversations about public affairs decreases with an increasing position of the wife. It is in wife-led families that mass media and also family investments are least talked about, while on the other hand discussions of trivial occurrences during the normal performance of the respective social roles and plain gossip appear fairly characteristic. In general, the prevailing mode of conversation in wife-led families may be characterized as an especially pronounced form of 'family provincialism.' For the husband-led families money problems and investments are comparatively important and it is also here that the answer 'we have nothing to say to each other any more' is obtained most frequently. The patterns of conversation in this form of the family fit in quite well with the overall impression of a relatively stronger emotional detachment as the prevailing atmosphere, even though family cohesion in a physical sense is not conspicuously low. Equalitarian families mention child-raising and common leisure activities less often as topics of conversation than is true for other forms of the family. However, as a rule, the topics of conversation reflect here the stronger orientation towards the spouse rather than the family in general, which is typical for this family. It is in agreement with this general atmosphere in equalitarian families that shared past experiences are more accentuated than is true for other families.

A breakdown of conversation topics by social status leads mostly to results which one would expect from previous analyses. Thus, money problems as a topic of conversation decrease in importance with increasing social status of respondents. The answers that conversation between the spouses has ceased follows a U-curve, i.e., one observes it overproportionally in the lower classes and again in the upper classes. This agrees with the further observation that middle and upper middle class families emphasize the family as a topic of conversation. Together with other indications this leads us to conclude that the pattern of topics in conversations reflects the stronger family sentiment expressed during leisure in those classes.

'Carry-over' Effect.

A frequent theme in the discussion of leisure is whether the rhythm, the problems and, specifically, the routine accomplishments

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and irritations of one's job (referring both to work in its limited meaning and to keeping house) are carried over into leisure, or if leisure is of an entirely compensatory character. Asking specific questions on these points it was found that the 'carry-over' of the job into leisure appears least strong in equalitarian families, but also that some degree of conversation about the respective work seems to be associated with good relations between the spouses. Furthermore, if there is a conversation about the husband's work, the wife is likely to report on her everyday experiences too; there is a high degree of symmetry in conversing about the respective job occurrences. The absence of such symmetry may, by the way, be considered an indicator for an unequal allocation of authority.

In general, our data suggest that a carry-over of one's daily tasks into evening conversation should not be summarily judged as impairing leisure, just because such behaviour does not conform to the prevailing notion that leisure should be compensatory. For the partners these conversations about the respective jobs tend to have the manifest function of acquainting each other with that part of life during which the spouses are separated.³⁹ We are also inclined to believe that, to some degree, latent functions of integrating the participating individuals into a larger social nexus are being served. Such a carry-over of experiences specific to one social status may help to overcome the limitations of experiences connected with the role of husband and wife. It should be observed that this pattern of conversation is in a sense also compensatory in that it provides an outlet for the affective neutrality, specificity, and universalistic orientation which is usually demanded on the job.

VI

In designing this investigation and even more so after a detailed analysis, some shortcomings were felt which this project shares with many other family studies. First of all, although we speak of the family, only the husband-wife relationship is really considered. Children are largely disregarded or seen more as a restraining factor and far less in their other possibility as an additional content for leisure.

While this underplaying of the interaction between generations appears frequently for family studies in general,⁴⁰ the few studies on leisure and the family further imply an ideological conception of equally important consequence. Usually those investigations are

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focused on how far leisure is a familial concern, with the assumption that an undifferentiated identity of interests between husband and wife can be considered as a yardstick in evaluating behaviour.⁴¹ In view of the strong tradition of looking at the family as an interplay of roles, we find it surprising that this notion has not been challenged before even in this context.⁴² For family theory in general, Parsons and Bales have more recently suggested a framework, which leads one to doubt the soundness of the widespread ideal of the companionship marriage.⁴³ In this family ideal a maximum of interchange in the functions of husband and wife is usually stressed (e.g. the husband helping with the household, the wife supplementing the family income), and leisure is viewed as an opportunity for the pursuit of identical interests otherwise made impossible by involuntary separation. Such identity might not be unproblematical, since due to their still different role obligations in other spheres of life, leisure should most likely have to serve different functions for husband and wife too.

This should be especially so if one stresses the latent functions of leisure for society at large and sees leisure primarily as an occasion for the integration of the individual into larger social contexts beyond the normal limitations of instrumental roles. One obvious consequence should be the realization that a nearly exclusively family-oriented leisure might very well be dysfunctional for the society at large.⁴⁴

These, as well as some considerations referred to at the beginning of this report, make an investigation of the inter-relationship between leisure and the family a far more complex topic than is implied in the more frequent approaches of asking how much leisure and which activities are spent in the presence of family members. For this investigation such considerations have to remain largely hindsight and could primarily influence merely the designs in analysis.

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⁴¹ See among other references, Ida Craven's article 'Leisure,' *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IX, pp. 402-405. Craven concludes: 'The tone of a society is largely determined by the quality of its leisure' (p. 405). Also David Riesman in his well-known *The Lonely Crowd*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1952, gives leisure a central place in characterizing society at large. Studying leisure as a means for analysing global social phenomena is also the orientation of a project now carried out at the University of Michigan under the direction of H. Wilensky.

⁴² This distinction between macrosociological and microsociological analysis has been proposed by Georges Gurwitsch.

³ Under the sponsorship of the three UNESCO-Institutes in Germany, an international working group on leisure has started investigations in several countries, using a common questionnaire. This material will largely be descriptive, just as most of the numerous national studies are. An international comparison of the results will, however, make possible analytic evaluations of the material by relating observed differences to structural differences in the national cultures.

⁴ Many American texts on the sociology of the family have such passing references to leisure, among the more recent the texts by Clifford Kirkpatrick, Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill, Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey G. Locke, Myer F. Nimkoff, Marvin B. Sussman, etc. As for literature in German, the situation is basically the same. Ernst Glaser, who specifically mentions the interrelationship of leisure, family and work as the theme of his book, nevertheless proceeds to treat the three topics apart: (Ernst Glaser: *Familie, Beruf, Freizeit*, Verlag des Österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbundes, Wien, 1954). An analogous disregard characterizes most treatments on leisure. Thus, in such a standard reference as B. Seebohm Rowntree and G. R. Lavers: *English Life and Leisure*, Longmans Green, London, 1951, the interrelationship of family and leisure is not considered. The same holds for the most recent American publication by Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyerssohn: *Mass Leisure*, Free Press, Glencoe (Ill.), 1958. Only recently an earlier study on leisure became available:—George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky and Mary A. McNerny: *Leisure. A Suburban Study*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1934. This investigation is either completely ignored in present-day literature on leisure or quoted in such a way that the relevance of its findings for theory is obscured. It is quite disconcerting to notice that the stereotypes concerning the social consequences of increased leisure quoted in this 1932 study of suburban Westchester County (neighbouring New York City) were rather identical with the ones to be found today. This study is quite superior to most later investigations in its theoretical awareness and it contains more valuable material on the interrelationship between leisure behaviour and the family than any of the texts mentioned above (see especially pp. 170-189 of this publication). Specifically, it employs a conceptual orientation similar to the one of our study.

⁵ Such terms are used by Andrew Truxal and Francis B. Merrill: *Marriage and the Family in American Culture*, Prentice Hall, 2nd Ed., Englewood Cliffs, 1953; Clifford Kirkpatrick: *The Family as Process and Institution*, Ronald Press, New York, 1955, p. 18 *et passim*. An early statement on the loss of functions (and one which has become influential in establishing a particular frame of reference in accordance with the well known general orientation of its author) is contained in William F. Ogburn (Ed.): *Recent Social Changes in the United States*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929, e.g. p. XI. In contrast to this see the diversified treatment of the same theme in René König: *Materialien zur Soziologie der Familie*, Francke Verlag, Bern, 1946.

⁶ See Meyer F. Nimkoff: *Marriage and the Family*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1947, p. 99, especially with reference to urban families, pp. 143-145; Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 132. Deploring in rather dramatic eloquence are Truxal and Merrill, *op. cit.*, p. 331 ff, and Nels Anderson and Friedrich K. Karrenberg: *Leisure—By-Product of Industrial Urbanism*, UNESCO-Institute for Social Sciences, Köln, 1957, especially p. 26. German sources are often even more dramatic in their descriptions of these assumed consequences, as in Lothar Loeffler: *Arbeit, Freizeit und Familie*, Georg Thieme Verlag, Stuttgart, 1955, pp. 16-20 *et passim*. John Sirjamaki emphasizes individualism in the family to such a degree that he feels justified to call it 'an association based on antagonistic co-operation'; John Sirjamaki: 'Culture Configurations in the American Family,' *American Journal of*

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Sociology, Vol. 53, 1948, p. 456. Yet on second thought it is not so very surprising that family sociologists frequently are pessimistic in gauging the impact of leisure. It appears to us that, more than in most fields of sociology, a conservative ethos underlies many analyses in family sociology.

⁷ This view is represented in Germany by René König, Helmuth Schelsky and Gerhard Wurzbacher. König emphasizes that 'disintegration,' i.e. the loss of functions, is not equivalent to a decline in family cohesion; see König, *op. cit.*; Schelsky and Wurzbacher both demonstrate the strong cohesion in the present-day family and the mounting importance of emotional functions. See Helmuth Schelsky: *Wandlungen der deutschen Familie in der Gegenwart*, Ardey-Verlag, Dortmund, 1953 and Gerhard Wurzbacher: *Leitbilder gegenwärtigen deutschen Familienlebens*, Ardey-Verlag, Dortmund, 1951. In the largest post-war study in Germany, the Darmstadt project, the results fitted this conclusion, but the author doubts whether this is not just a temporary trend in times of unusual changes. See Gerhard Baumert: *Deutsche Familien nach dem Kriege*, Eduard Roether Verlag, Darmstadt, 1954. In the United States, Folsom has emphasized the growing importance of the remaining functions—and especially the emotional one—for the present-day family, as well as the positive rôle of leisure. See Joseph K. Folsom: *The Family and Democratic Society*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1949, e.g. p. 190 *et seq.* The same opinion—based on empirical evidence—is advanced by Lundberg *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁸ This has been especially emphasized by authors who are sceptical about the ability of the modern family to meet this challenge: '... As a consequence, whether husband and wife find their relationship satisfying depends more directly upon how they use their leisure time ...' Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Burgess and Wallin maintain that an identity of leisure interests is causally related to success in engagement and marriage: see Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin: *Engagement and Marriage*, pp. 291-293. The results of their study of Westchester County lead Lundberg *et al.* to conclude 'the family gathers as a family more around its leisure pursuits than around any of its other activities.' *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁹ Contrary to the material cited by Burgess, Purnell Benson in a study re-evaluating material at the Family Study Center found: 'it is not possible by ordinary statistical analysis to demonstrate whether familistic or individualistic interests are actual causes or simply concomitants of family harmony or discord.' See Purnell Benson: 'The Interests of Happily Married Couples,' in Marvin B. Sussman (Ed.): *Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family*, Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge (Mass.), 1955, p. 109. More important still, when the partners checked their interests from an inventory of activities, Benson reports that hardly any or no relationship to marital adjustment was found; *ibid.*, p. 108 *et passim*. We would like to emphasize that individual activities were listed without attempts to ascertain place of and partners in interactions, let alone probing as to the meaning of such activities.

¹⁰ For a short description of the various projects see: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Vol. IX (1957), pp. 348-349.

¹¹ The sampling methods used were area sampling, simple probability sampling from files, and quota sampling, with 500 cases each. A discussion of the main investigation used here can be found in a dissertation by Walter Scheele: *Das Quoten-Sample. Darstellung und Ergebnisse einer Parallelerhebung in der Stadt Köln*, sociological seminar, Cologne, 1955. Another investigation in a series of community studies in Cologne has been described in a dissertation by Erwin K. Scheuch: *Die Anwendung von Auswahlverfahren bei Repräsentativ-Befragungen*, sociological seminar, Cologne, 1956. A more extensive presentation of some subject matter findings of our sur-

veys can be found in two master's theses: Herman Meier: *Freizeit und soziale Schicht*, sociological seminar, Cologne, 1957, and Gerd Wolter: *Das Problem der Autorität, speziell untersucht an einem Sample Kölner Familien*, sociological seminar, Cologne, 1955. Parts of this article draw considerably on the last two reports.

¹² See Rolf Fröhner, Maria von Stackelberg, Wolfgang Eser: *Familie und Ehe. Probleme in den deutschen Familien der Gegenwart*, Stackelberg Verlag, Bielefeld, 1956.

¹³ Using a roughly comparable analytical scheme, Lundberg, Komarovskiy and Inerny in their study in 1932 arrive at the same conclusions. For the importance of the home as a place of leisure see Lundberg *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 176 *et seq.*; the rôle of the family in leisure is especially shown *ibid.*, p. 183 *et seq.* It is important to consider that Westchester County was selected as an area of investigation specifically to study leisure behaviour of an especially 'modern,' urbanised population (or rather 'ex-urbanites' according to contemporary usage).

¹⁴ This is a stereotype especially with regard to city families which one frequently encounters in more popular presentations in Germany, although many studies show it to be false. Rosenmayr in a study in Vienna, however, comes to a conclusion which is probably more correct, namely that though contacts with outsiders do exist in the city family, they are of a relatively ephemeral character compared to the intensity of interaction within the nuclear family. See Leopold Rosenmayr: 'Wohnverhältnisse und Nachbarschaftsbeziehungen,' in *Wohnen in Wien*, Vol. 8 of *Der Aufbau*, Stadtbauamt der Stadt Wien, Wien, 1956, pp. 37-91, especially p. 73 *et seq.*

¹⁵ See Peter Townsend: *Family Life of Old People*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957; Michael Young and Peter Willmott: *Family and Kinship in East London*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957; Detroit Area Study: *A Social Profile of Detroit 1955*, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor, 1956, e.g. table 13; Detroit Area Study: 'The Importance of Relationships to the Detroit Family,' Report No. 1095, Ann Arbor, 1956.

¹⁶ See Fröhner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 242 *et seq.*, p. 246, p. 431.

¹⁷ This table is taken from the unpublished thesis of Hermann Meier, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Some caution is advised in interpreting answers about the length of time available for leisure. We suspect for our study as well as for other investigations in Germany that the length of time reported is not only a function of the actual situation, but also the result of varying definitions of leisure in subgroups of the population. However, as the results stand now they support our conclusion. A similar observation is made by Folsom, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

¹⁹ See Fröhner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 99; furthermore p. 97 *et seq.*, p. 101 *et seq.*, p. 371 *et seq.*

²⁰ This can also be inferred from a survey in northern Germany: see Viggo Graf Blücher: *Freizeit in der industriellen Gesellschaft*, Ferdinand Enke Verlag, Stuttgart, 1956, chapter IV.

²¹ See Fröhner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 111, 115, 116, 381.

²² See Alva Myrdal: *Nation and the Family*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1945.

²³ Contributory evidence may also be found in the following sources: Fröhner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 105 *et passim*; Günter Kieslich: *Freizeitgestaltung in einer Industriestadt*, Institut für Publizistik, Münster, 1956, appendix.

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²⁴ See Fröhner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

²⁵ One difference to other reports may be specifically emphasized; the contention that younger people tend to spend their leisure outside the home could not be verified. Some other material like Fröhner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Blücher, *op. cit.*—leads us to suspect that for the age groups beyond 21 years, this prevailing impression is an unwarranted generalization.

²⁶ For further information on the construction of this social status scale see Erwin K. Scheuch: 'An Instrument to Measure Social Stratification in Western Germany,' *Transactions of the Third World Congress in Sociology*, Vol. VIII, International Sociological Association, London, 1957, pp. 185-189. The presentation on the influence of social class is largely based on Hermann Meier, *op. cit.* The influence of social class on the family has been repeatedly demonstrated for the U.S.A. 'For some types of analysis ... it is therefore useful to speak of class-typed families rather than the majority family or the American family in general.' John Sirjamaki: *The American Family in the Twentieth Century*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1955, p. 161.

²⁷ In principle this scale approximates to Hollingshead's 'Index of Social Position.' The earlier writings of this author, especially his description of the 'grilling' process for strangers in *Elmtown's Youth*, influenced our scale for measuring social status. See also August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich: *Social Class and Mental Illness*, John Wiley, New York, 1958, especially appendices 2 and 3. The index of social position described there appeared after the studies reported here were finished, but is a close approximation to our type of approach. This scale of Hollingshead is composed of an occupational scale, an educational scale and a residential scale. The latter ranks addresses in terms of social prestige; in our scale the third group of items is instead a number of questions on income.

²⁸ As to the frequency of different family types, the ones found in our study represent the rank order of categories usually found in larger German cities. The percentages reported for the nuclear family are practically identical for our study in Cologne and for such otherwise different cities as Darmstadt and Frankfurt, always oscillating around 47 per cent. The incidence of 'couples,' i.e. where just two spouses live together is relatively low (about 20 per cent). See also Baumert, *op. cit.*, p. 44, p. 47.

²⁹ The data from the EMNID-study usually confirm this conclusion. See Fröhner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, e.g. pp. 106-107.

³⁰ For a further discussion of the scale for measuring authority in the family, together with more results, see René König: 'Family and Authority,' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 5 (new series) (1957), pp. 107-127.

³¹ Folsom concludes that the increasingly important rôle of the wife in shaping leisure time behaviour within the family would contribute to a growing family orientation in leisure. See Folsom, *op. cit.*, p. 584.

³² We would like to emphasize that (1) organized recreation does not play nearly such a large part in family life in Germany as in the United States, and (2) that such recreation is not necessarily concomitant with the process of individualisation of leisure. There is evidence that this statement is valid for communities of varying size, with the exception of strictly rural areas, e.g. Fröhner, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Data from the Vienna study are in agreement with our conclusion; see Leopold Rosemayr, *op. cit.*, p. 53. See also Gerhard Wurzbacher: *Das Dorf im Spannungsfeld industrieller Entwicklung*, Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart, 1954, pp. 102, 103, 110. Yet we also wonder whether the statements about the U.S.A. do not rest on a fairly impressionistic basis.

²³ Using partly different categories Baumert concludes that family cohesion is greatest in the traditional patriarchal family and in the integrated companionship family, while it is least in families with 'secondary' patriarchy (= a sort of contrived patriarchy without the social conditions which made this authority structure originally possible) and in the individualistic egalitarian family; see Baumert, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-169.

²⁴ cf. René König, *op. cit.*

²⁵ The EMNID-study shows that for the total population interviewed four out of five families usually go together to most of these occasions. In this investigation it could further be shown that such common visits coincide with family cohesion; Fröhner, *op. cit.*, p. 247 *et seq.*

²⁶ Attention to mass media of communication was found to be important in general questions on leisure. Specific questions on media behaviour revealed that nearly half of the respondents regularly speak with the spouse about local events reported in newspapers, and that spouses are about twice as frequent a partner in such conversations as any other type of partner, e.g. fellow workers. These results are from a later survey 'Newspaper and the Community' in Cologne, the findings of which are scheduled for a later separate publication.

²⁷ The latter statements are again based on the study of 'Newspaper and the Community.' This showed that mass media are an important part of leisure and this is especially true for newspapers and radio. The saturation with T.V. sets is still relatively low in Germany and was in 1957 roughly comparable to the prevalence of T.V. sets in the United States during 1949/50. By now, however, the growth of T.V. ownership in Germany also follows the steep part of a typical logistic growth curve. The evidence so far suggests that increase in T.V. ownership will lead to more leisure being spent inside the home and in the company of the family and close acquaintances. At this point we would like to mention that mutual visits of acquaintances play a far less important rôle in urban communities in Germany than is reported for comparable communities in the U.S.A., although such visits appear to be on the increase.

²⁸ So-called 'pattern variables' used in the sense of Talcott Parsons.

²⁹ Latent and manifest functions are used in the sense of Robert K. Merton.

⁴⁰ If interaction between parents and children is considered as part of leisure behaviour in family investigations, it is occasionally concluded that such interaction is not as important as the child's relation to its peer groups. For results on Germany see e.g. DIVO: *Eine Untersuchung über Ferien und Freizeit der Jugend*, Frankfurt, 1958; Blücher, *op. cit.*; and to be inferred from Knut Pipping *et al.*: *Gespräche mit der deutschen Jugend*, Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Helsingfors, 1954. We believe, however, that the subjective importance of such interaction as seen from the point of view of the parents may well be greater than from the viewpoint of the children, and that it is necessary to differentiate between the age level of children before arriving at such statements. Recently some extensive investigations into the relation between child and parents point to a renewed interest in this aspect of family life which for some time had been neglected in family sociology; see e.g. Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson: *The Changing American Parent*, John Wiley, New York, 1958.

⁴¹ See Burgess and Walling, *op. cit.*, p. 293, p. 521; implicitly also in Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke: *The Family—From Institution to Companionship*, American Book Company, New York, 2nd Ed. 1954; Truxal and Merrill, *op. cit.*; Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*; Nimkoff, *op. cit.* Demoralizing tendencies connected with an extreme difference in leisure interests of husband and wife have been found by Terence Morris: *The Criminal Area*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1958, p. 172.

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⁴² The concept of companionship marriage and especially its more polemical formulations should in our opinion be understood as a post World War I phenomenon and as a partisan reaction to female emancipation. In its more extreme formulations it is essentially a model negating the family as an institution in favour of a free but legalized association between two individuals congenial in their interests.

⁴³ Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales *et al.*: *The Family—Socialization and Interaction Process*, The Free Press, Glencoe (Ill.), 1955.

⁴⁴ Schelsky, *op. cit.* and Wurzbacher in 'Leitbilder' *op. cit.* have emphasized that the growing importance of intra-familial relations is connected with a decreasing participation in public affairs. König speaks in this connection of 'family egoism.' Halmos also criticises what he terms 'the ideological defence of family insularity'; see Paul Halmos: *Solitude and Privacy*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1952, p. 120. Such critical appraisals remain, however, exceptions.

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NOTES ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF A CANADIAN PIONEER TOWN*

Edward Derbyshire

The town of Schefferville¹ is situated on the shores of Knob Lake in the heart of the vast peninsula of Quebec-Labrador, 320 miles north of its outport of Sept Îles on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and over 700 miles north east of the city of Montreal.

With the decision to exploit the vast iron ore reserves of this hitherto unknown area, the Iron Ore Company of Canada laid plans for the construction of a complete town to house the labour force and their families. From the beginnings in 1953, to the first considerable ore shipment in 1956, the town increased rapidly in size until, at the present time, the permanent (i.e. winter season) population is approximately 2,000. This rises to over 3,000 during the ore-carrying summer season. Schefferville enjoyed a very brief life as a traditional 'company town' compared with previous developments elsewhere in the Canadian Northlands, with the result that this considerable group of people was brought together over a period of a few months rather than over several years, as is the case with the normal small town. Furthermore, the nature of the development accounts for the low average age of the population, the high proportion under 21 years of age, and the lack of any appreciable old-age group.

The presence of a large labouring population of over 1,000 men, many of whom are seasonal workers, results in an unbalanced sex-ratio within the community, exaggerated by the fact that many male employees of salaried rank are unmarried. The ratio of unmarried men to unmarried women of marriageable age is approximately 25:1. In terms of the social structure of the settlement, however, this group is marginal and may be discussed separately.

* The writer is indebted to the Iron Ore Company of Canada Limited and to the O'Connell Construction Company of Montreal for providing much of the factual information. Thanks are also due to Mr. K. J. Jones, formerly of McGill University, for sharing the results of some of his calculations, and to Mr. W. M. Williams for his many valuable suggestions during the writing of this paper.

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The labouring, or 'bunk-house' group constitutes a separate entity in many respects. Their numbers are drawn from all over the North American continent and Europe, there being a large number of Italians and central Europeans. The labouring work is seasonal in nature, and men in this group sign a contract to work for six months, with a guarantee of return transport between Schefferville and Mont Joli at the beginning and end of this period. A man breaking his contract must pay his own return fare.

The accommodation offered to the labourers is poor by southern Canadian standards, though commonplace in most pioneer settlements. The men live in small screened or partitioned rooms in the large bunk-houses, and take meals in the Company cafeteria. The social amenities of the town, although including a cinema and a recreation centre as well as active church groups, are distinctly limited.

These factors have contributed towards the consistently high labour turnover. Since the first ore shipments of the summer of 1954, turnover within the bunk-house group has been between 100 and 120 per cent over the years. Conditions and turnover figures are similar in the several construction companies within the settlement, a survey of one of them revealing that only 35 per cent of the labourers fulfilled the six months of their contracts, nearly one half of them working for an average of only three months. There is little doubt that the restricted social life is its principal cause. This contention is strengthened by the fact that, on the average, workers originating in Europe tend to remain longer than those from southern Canada. Of the non-European labourers, by far the majority are French-Canadians, who are generally more stable workers than the English-speaking labourers. Common to all groups is a desire to 'stick it as long as possible' in order to save for some definite purpose. Sons of French-Canadian farmers have been known to work for two or more summers and then to return to the south each September with their summer's earnings, which are used to supplement the income of the farm.

Social activities in the town are open to the men from the bunk-houses, many societies making deliberate attempts to attract them. However, success in this field has been very limited and only an estimated twenty per cent of the men avail themselves of the opportunity, and these largely in all-male activities such as team games.

The single salaried group, living in the staff-houses, is small in

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number, representing less than ten per cent of the total labour force of 1,800. It constitutes an intermediate segment between the bunk-houses and the population of the town estate. Engaged in engineering work, this group is of a higher educational standing than that of the bunk-houses, although it is housed in much the same accommodation. Participation in the social life of the town is much more common, although such activity is restricted by the overwhelming preponderance of males. Consequently, the bunk-house and staff-house groups alike are essentially a shifting, unstable element,² and for broadly the same reasons: they contribute little to the character of the social life of the town community.

The Township.

The township of Schefferville is made up of houses of uniformly high quality, which differ only in size according to different family requirements. The staff members of the Company, with their families, occupy this accommodation together with a sprinkling of essential hourly-paid workers who have a long record of service with the Company. The population of the town is made up largely of families from the Montreal-Quebec City region and the towns and cities of southern Ontario or similar urban areas elsewhere in Canada, the United States and Europe.

As is commonly the case in small urban centres, the families have organized themselves into a series of formal associations.³ These include the Roman Catholic Church, which fosters several secondary associations, the United Church of Canada which is parent to several smaller groups including a women's guild, as well as encouraging some seasonal activities such as the Annual Minstrel Show, and the Iron Ore Company of Canada which fosters such groups as the Knob Lake Mining Club for the discussion of mining and related topics. The several sports leagues may also be considered to be formal associations, springing as they do from individual industrial concerns in the town.

Despite these examples, it can be said that the formal association is poorly developed in Schefferville. This is emphasized by the fact that the school is not a formal association as in most small towns throughout North America. There is no youth organization and little demand for one. The two Boy Scout groups (English Protestant and French Catholic) are small and there has been no move at all to create a parent-teacher organisation.

It is reasonable to assume that this situation springs mainly from the character of the age structure of the population. The relatively low average age of the parents, which might be expected in such a newly-created community, has resulted in a high proportion of children and young people of less than twenty years of age. Forty-six per cent of these are below the age of six years, and a further thirty-two per cent are less than ten years old.⁴ In contrast, the adolescent group is very small, a further reflection of the youthfulness of the parents. This, together with the influence exerted by the closely-knit French-Canadian family unit, has resulted in the complete lack of adolescent 'gangs.' Association amongst this group tends to be in rather poorly defined cliques frequenting skating rink, cinema, and coffee-bar. Formal associations are also so few because only the married people are active in them, and there are scarcely more than a hundred families in the town. The unmarried group is reluctant to join in these activities in any numbers. The married adult group is much smaller than in other towns with a comparable population.

While this situation is generally detrimental to the formal association in Schefferville, it has acted as a stimulus to the smaller informal association, or 'clique.'⁵ The clique is strongly developed within the town group and adequately balances the retarded development of the formal association. Springing from normal daily contacts within the Company, and amongst the wives, these associations generally consist of three or four households. The cliques are strongly interdependent,⁶ and frequently an evening spent playing Bridge will see the combination of members of two or more cliques through the medium of members held in common. This interdependence is increased by the existence of single-sex cliques, husband and wife tending to broaden the aspect of social activities, especially during holiday periods, by extending invitations to fishing and sewing friends together with their less well known escorts. Single-sex cliques are less well developed than cliques made up of family groups. This may be because they are distinctly seasonal, a reflection of their heavy dependence upon the outdoor sports and pastimes of summer, especially fishing by the men. As might be expected, the cliques made up solely of women show less of this seasonal variation.

Unlike the few formal associations, the well developed informal associations are cast within an incipient, though readily recognizable, class structure. The bulk of the town population come from middle

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class groupings in southern Canadian cities and towns, and the attitudes and standards which they gleaned from such surroundings have largely been transplanted into the new setting. Consequently, the town group possesses a degree of social homogeneity and lack of differentiation rarely found in towns of comparable size in the south. The special conditions of isolation, climate, and employment prevailing in Schefferville, however, have resulted in the appearance of a rudimentary hierarchical structure within this relatively uniform group. Several factors have tended to encourage this development. For example, social stratification is a more direct reflection of the salary scale and status within the Company than is usually the case in a more open society. Social competence invariably serves to enhance a family's standing in the eyes of others, but lack of it in, for example, a member of the Company's executive group does not tend to lower the family's social status.

The relationship between social class and status within the Company is most clearly discernible at the upper end of the social scale, and tends to become much weaker in the middle group which constitutes the bulk of the town population. Here, behaviour towards neighbours and domestic cleanliness are amongst the many factors which can serve to confirm or lower the position of a family on the social scale in relation to Company status. Certain behaviour, such as 'keeping oneself to oneself' and frequent excursions to the cities in the south, undoubtedly tend to raise a family's social standing. It is probably true to say that within this large middle group, the hierarchy is one based first of all upon status within the Company and that, all other things being equal, such a structure will tend to perpetuate itself in the absence of wide variety of employment and uncontrolled urban growth. The narrow range of Company status within the township very largely accounts for the size of the middle class. This uniformity tends to be maintained because the senior mining engineers are members of the upper group, while the younger and junior engineers are commonly unmarried and, therefore, not included in the town group. The discrepancies between class grouping and Company status are random in distribution within the community and stem almost entirely from inequalities in social competence.

The reality of these incipient social class divisions is emphasized by the limited range of close association of individual family groups. Choice of social affiliation is much more restricted than in the small

towns in the south. The lack of complete families, including aunts, uncles and cousins, results in an abnormally short social 'reach' for each family unit. There is a definite feeling among the town residents that social groupings and activities are very restricted within the community. Even individual cliques and small groups of cliques display a tendency to be influenced by status within the Company, although the festive seasons, such as Christmas and Thanksgiving, see the temporary breakdown of these restricted groups as gatherings become larger in size so as to include a wider range of acquaintances, some of which may include unmarried personnel from the staff-houses.

It follows that classes are both fewer and more difficult to distinguish than is the case with urban groups in open societies. The town population of Schefferville shows signs of a division into three class groups: upper, middle, and lower.

As in other societies, the upper class group is small in numbers and, in Schefferville, constitutes only about one per cent of the population. It is made up of the senior employees of the Company together with their families. It represents one informal association which, however, may be too loosely-bound to be termed a 'clique' in the sense used for the middle class informal associations. The seniority of this group within the Company, reinforced by the income and educational standards of its members, together with its consequent need to spend rather more time away from Schefferville on Company business, tends to set it apart from the middle class. In addition, its special responsibilities in terms of local government, housing, and public relations in this company town strengthens its position. This situation renders the group static, and any evidence of social mobility, such as the attainment or loss of upper class status, is completely lacking.

The middle class consists of about nine-tenths of the town population, and is made up of families of very similar urban-suburban background. The outstanding feature of this group is its lack of distinguishable class subdivisions. However, a tendency towards the development of a hierarchical character is discernible, the bases of which are Company status, and background as manifested in present attitudes and behaviour. The result is that while cliques and groups of cliques can be recognized as belonging to approximate relative levels within the middle group, a simple two- or three-fold division of the middle class would be both misleading and probably without

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any real justification at the present time.⁷ The question of permanence of settlement of individual families, as well as the newness of the town, is largely responsible for this indefinite stratification. Indeed, granted that the present conditions of employment and living remained constant, and that the population continued to be drawn from the same sources, it is conceivable that the strong sense of impermanence so evident today would inhibit the future development of recognizable divisions within this majority group.

The lower class is larger, though much less well defined than the upper class. It is certainly the most difficult group to isolate in that so much common ground is shared with what may be termed the lower members of the town's middle class. This lower class consists of less than ten per cent of the population and is characterized by a poorer standard of maintenance of property, children, domestic animals and so on. This distinct social behaviour is a direct reflection of family background and way of life before arrival in Schefferville. Accordingly, it is by no means true that this class is made up of the lowest income group. In this, and in the fact that the relationship with the middle class is much more fluid, the lower class contrasts markedly with the small upper group. The lack of a distinct lower class within the community may be partly compensated for in terms of certain social characteristics by the bunk-house group.

The uniformity of the housing, the similar social background shared by the majority of the professional group inhabiting the town-site, and the close daily contact of individuals both in the mining activity of the men and the trading activities of the women, all tend to militate against the development of a complex class structure of wide range. Despite the local differentiation, attitudes towards social behaviour, the arts, outside entertainment, education and church-going are very uniform and represent essentially the middle class attitudes of small town and suburb.

Across this incipient social stratification is superimposed a social division based on both language and religion. Schefferville is, in many ways, a town typical of the Province of Quebec, seventy-five to eighty per cent of the resident population having French as their first language.

The French-Canadian population of Schefferville⁸ possesses a social homogeneity within which class divisions are but poorly developed. The unifying effect of the Roman Catholic Church has served to preserve this characteristic, although the common back-

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ground of the professional French-Canadian in Schefferville is a factor of great importance. A high proportion of the families come from the cities of Montreal and Quebec, and many knew each other before arriving in the North, either from acquaintance in these cities or from working together in other northern communities such as Val d'Or or Flin Flon. While, therefore, there exists an incipient division of these middle class French-Canadians, based largely upon attitudes acquired before arriving in Schefferville and, to a lesser degree, upon status within the Company, it is less obvious than in the English-speaking community. This is borne out by the activities of the formal associations, and especially by those associations directly sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church. This great sense of community, reinforced by a common religion, is as strongly developed in Schefferville as in the towns of the lower St. Lawrence or the cities of Montreal and Quebec. Middle class in origin, the French-Canadians make up the bulk of the middle class group in the town, and also the majority of the poorly-defined lower class. Moreover, while they constitute a minority of the upper group, this minority is by no means small, and the composition of the upper class as a whole contrasts markedly with Hughes' description of the 'managerial group' of a small industrial town in southern Quebec in 1943.⁹ However, it must be emphasized that class division within the French-Canadian population of Schefferville appears to be less well developed than among the English-speaking members, or even than that displayed in French-Canadian urban communities in the south.

The Protestant, English-speaking families form a distinct element almost entirely as a result of their origin in the self-contained neighbourhood units to be found in Montreal and in some of the smaller urban centres in French Canada. Social distinctions are more apparent than in the case of the French-Canadians, many of them inherited from the experience of the family in the time preceding their arrival in Schefferville. The second major social division to be found in the town, however, is also a religious one and serves to divide the community centring on the United Church of Canada from the remainder of the Protestant segment. This division, while less fundamental than that between Roman Catholic and Protestant, is more than simply theoretical and is strongly felt amongst many members of the Protestant group. There is an undoubted feeling of competition between the two main sects, which sometimes reveals itself in conversation and, very occasionally, in group attitudes result-

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ing from events outside Schefferville.¹⁰ The United Church community accounts for a high proportion of the Protestant population and is by far the most significant of the English-speaking social groups. It has representatives in the upper class, a very few in the lower, and displays a definite tendency towards the development of a hierarchical structure within the middle class group.

This 'vertical' division of the English-speaking community is thought to have retarded the full development of a class structure more than any other factor. The United Church group commands and receives a high degree of loyalty, the community spirit being constantly reinforced by such activities as film shows, amateur dramatics, visiting lecturers, sales of work, and similar meetings held in the church building. This social activity has done much to encourage a strong sense of unity and, thereby, to stress social homogeneity within the group at the expense of social division. Generally speaking, the remaining Protestant families, together with the families of weak religious allegiance, lack this influence, and it is here that the characteristics of a class structure are most evident.

It must be emphasized that the divisions of a non-hierarchical kind are by no means as clear-cut as might appear at first sight. A good number of the residents of the town are from other parts of French Canada, and are therefore completely at home in a bilingual environment. Resentment arising out of this situation is extremely rare and is essentially an outcome of individual rather than group animosities. In mature adults it tends to be most common among women, while the few cases of group animosity observed were amongst small groups of adolescent boys and young men and, even here, there is evident a strong element of carping. Social differentiation on the basis of first language is also rare although, as might be expected, there is a strong identification of language with religious allegiance. There probably exists a feeling amongst some individuals that the user of the other language, whether it be English or French, is inferior, but this is explicable in terms of normal psychological response. There is nothing to suggest that this is more prevalent in Schefferville than anywhere else in French Canada. Certainly, such differentiation on the basis of language is not a characteristic of the social climate, the overriding attitude being one of disinterested and altogether urbane tolerance. Language does not form a considerable barrier between the two main groups, largely because very few French-Canadians of a middle class urban background find any great

difficulty in using English. On the other hand, comparatively few of the English-speaking element are at home in speaking French, and a great many know little more than the essential phrases.

In conclusion, it will be recalled that Schefferville is made up of two distinct populations. These are a town community of permanent employees, and a bunk-house-staff-house group which, because of its shifting character, constitutes a separate and non-hierarchical element contributing little to the social life of the town. This situation has contributed to the retardation of the development of a hierarchical social structure in Schefferville. Within the town group, this development has been hampered by a variety of factors, the most significant being the restricted range of the social background of the members of the community, the minor differences in rank within the Company of the vast majority of the residents of the town, the relative instability of the family units in terms of permanent settlement,¹¹ and the existence of two non-hierarchical divisions within the community, one of major, the other of subsidiary importance. Against this background of weak class divisions may be set the fairly strong development of the informal association, which looks forward to probable changes in the social structure if and when Schefferville acquires stability as a normal urban unit. Schefferville, together with other comparable centres of extractive industry in the 'pioneer fringe,' is providing an important outlet for the surplus rural population of French Canada. As rapid outgrowths of Montreal and Toronto, and lying well to the north of the limit of cultivation, such pioneer towns are providing an environment which is essentially urban. In this way, the process of urbanization of the rural French-Canadian as described by Miner¹² is being perpetuated. The new 'pioneer fringe,' heralded by the building of the model town of Schefferville, with its high wages, its great demand for labour, and its emphasis on planned urban-type settlement, contrasts strikingly with the agricultural 'pioneer fringe' of the first quarter of this century. The latter offered the continuance of the social structure within the old family-land relationship. This has been replaced by urban commercial values which have tended to emphasize the rôle of the individual at the expense of the traditionally close-knit family group. Although some farmers' sons return to their homes at the end of the season from Schefferville, there is an indication that an increasing number are becoming oriented to urban life, many ultimately feeling quite at home in Quebec or Montreal. The presence of French-Canadians at

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all levels in the social spectrum, but particularly among the managerial group, is especially notable and may indicate an acceleration of the process (noted elsewhere in Quebec before the last war¹²) whereby the French-Canadian is increasingly to be found at the executive level in industry. There seems little doubt that wartime conditions and, even more, the great surge of industrial activity in the 'pioneer fringe' in postwar years have contributed largely to this acceleration. To the traditionally loyal French-Canadian labourer has been added the reliable foreman, the experienced chief mining engineer, and the respected Departmental Head.

In practical terms, these conclusions indicate some of the limitations which are likely to affect the future development of Schefferville and comparable towns. The average family regards the period spent in Schefferville as an episode in their professional advancement, during which time they are prepared to make sacrifices which include isolation from their native areas in the south. For many, the length of this episode is strictly controlled by the lack of high school education facilities in the town. For these and the many other suggested reasons, it appears that the community is destined to be made up of semi-permanent family units, the population being kept at strength by constant loss and replacement. True permanence is not contemplated by the families. A scheme whereby housing is privately owned has been adopted at Kitimat in northern British Columbia. This policy was assured of some success by the relatively amenable climate and the proximity of tide-water. The same provision in Schefferville, and in the other pioneer towns envisaged for this region, would almost certainly be doomed to failure in the face of hostile climatic conditions and the isolation of the plateau.¹⁴ It is the recognition of all these factors which dictated the construction of a company town at Schefferville. The same factors seem to dominate planning policy for the rest of the eastern Canadian Arctic, and additional company towns have already been proposed for this region. Even where the state acts as a company, the same tendency is evident.¹⁵ While, therefore, there seems little doubt that there will be a thriving town at Schefferville for many years to come, the adoption of the settlement as a permanent home by all but a few individual families appears improbable. In this sense, the company town cannot be considered merely an interim phenomenon in eastern arctic Canada. The evidence of Schefferville seems to indicate that it is the best solution of the problem of populating the new mining

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towns of the Arctic which has yet been devised.

The picture presented here is both preliminary and incomplete and, clearly, much more work needs to be done before a balanced view of the town, both in itself and in its French-Canadian setting, is reached. Only studies of behaviour patterns based on case studies can supply all the detailed material needed for the comprehensive discussion of social mobility and interaction in the town. However, it is hoped that these notes may serve as an indication of the fruitfulness of the material available to the social scientist in what is probably a unique sociological environment.

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¹ The data on which this paper is based were collected at Schefferville during the period September 1957 to October 1958. The information was gathered in two ways. First, figures of labour turnover and town population were provided by the Company, and the major construction company in the town allowed access to personnel records which made possible a complete numerical survey of employees over an operating period of about two years. Second, data were accumulated from visits to the school and the churches and from personal interviews both in private homes and in places of employment. In addition, the author, as an accepted member of the community, joined in the activities of some formal and informal associations.

² The turnover amongst the staff-house group is much lower than that of the bunk-houses, according to the Company. Unfortunately, precise percentages of staff-house turnover were not available at the time of writing.

³ 'Formal association' is used here to denote a group which exists voluntarily within a rigid framework of rules governing entrance, membership and expulsion, for the pursuit of common interests, games and pastimes.

⁴ This high percentage below ten years of age accounts in large measure for the strength of the two Wolf Cub packs in contrast with the small size of the Scout groups.

⁵ Cf. W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt: *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1941.

⁶ These cliques are interdependent within the social field prescribed by kinship, friendship, and contact within the Company. The interdependent cliques are therefore related in much the same way as atoms within a complex molecule, each clique feeling itself to be the centre of a group of cliques. This 'molecular' pattern of interrelationship is comparable with the 'network' relationship of individuals described by J. A. Barnes: 'Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish,' *Human Relations*, vol. VII, pp. 39-58, 1954.

⁷ Many of the characteristics used to distinguish social subdivisions are poorly developed in Schefferville, and many others are rendered less valid by the special conditions associated with a 'company town.'

⁸ A discussion of the French-Canadian worker in Schefferville can be found in P. Garigue: 'Une enquête sur l'industrialisation de la province de Québec: Schefferville,' *Actualité Economique*, vol. 33, pp. 419-436, 1957.

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⁹ E. C. Hughes: *French Canada in Transition*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1943.

¹⁰ An example of this occurred in 1956 when a strong difference of opinion amongst non-resident church officials of both sides gave rise to a general feeling of resentment which was expressed in a short period of self justification. Such developments serve to strengthen each group's sense of unity and so further inhibit the development of a recognizable social hierarchy.

¹¹ Cf. E. Derbyshire: 'Amenities and the notion of permanence in Schefferville, Quebec,' *Acta Geographica*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 16, 1958.

¹² H. Miner: *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish*, Chicago, 1939.

¹³ E. C. Hughes: *op. cit.*

¹⁴ The important question of whether housing and all material amenities in pioneer towns should be provided by the company has recently been raised with reference to the development of human relations in industrial communities. See Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, Presidential Address, *Study Conference on the Human Problems of Industrial Communities within the Commonwealth and Empire*, July 1956, Vol. 1, pp. 34-41, 1957. In the case of Schefferville, there seems little doubt that, with continued growth, the few independent businesses which now provide shopping amenities will increase in number. Certainly it appears as though a complex community is developing and, while the initial impetus was provided by the Company in the form of housing and certain essential buildings, the part played by informal and formal associations is increasing steadily. Company sponsorship is certainly declining as the formal associations consolidate and expand.

¹⁵ This policy has been extended to include native peoples recently, as at Inuvik, North West Territories. Much of the planned population of this new town is already established at Aklavik, so that it is not directly comparable with Schefferville. However, many similar problems have been posed by this new town, as well as many more which are peculiar to the Mackenzie region. In beginning construction of a town at Inuvik, in advance of the natural influx of a resident population, the state has taken the policy of planned company towns a stage further than private industrial concerns are willing to go. The economic soundness of such a step remains to be seen.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF OVERSPILL: THE WORSLEY SOCIAL SURVEY

J. B. Cullingworth

The redevelopment of central areas at modern standards can take place only if some of the population to be displaced is rehoused elsewhere. When this rehousing is provided outside the administrative area of the local authority it is called by the ungainly term 'overspill.' The administrative and financial problems to which overspill gives rise have been, and still are, the subject of much controversy,¹ but comparatively little attention has been paid to its social implications.² However, during the last two or three years the whole concept of overspill has come under fire from the sociologists. Brennan, for example, has argued that the population in the two worst parts of Gorbals 'have adapted themselves very well' to their conditions; 60 per cent. of households interviewed 'said definitely that they did not want to leave the area.'³ Young and Willmott, in their fascinating study of Bethnal Green and the 'Green-leigh' overspill estate, came to the conclusion that 'very few people wish to leave the East End. They are attached to Mum and Dad, to the markets, to the pubs and settlements, to Club Row and the London Hospital.'⁴

If this contention is well founded, it would seem to follow that the policy of 'exporting' population to new and expanded towns and peripheral estates is socially undesirable. The fact that some half a million people have already moved to the New and Expanded Towns and far more to peripheral housing estates is no proof that the policy is a sound one sociologically if, as Young believes, 'most of the young couples who go to the estates don't go because they like the estates . . . but because they like the houses, and if they could get the houses without the estates they would jump for joy.'⁵

These sociological arguments have been avidly seized upon by the opponents of overspill. The 'hands off good agricultural land, wherever it is' campaign has now been reinforced by arguments which not only seem eminently sensible but also have academic respectability. But a careful perusal of these sociological studies

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suggests that the problem is far more complex than is usually assumed. Often no distinction is made between peripheral housing estates and New Towns, or between schemes which are populated by families from 'the top of the housing list' and those in which the population is recruited through an industrial selection scheme. Again, the break-up of kinship ties is often assumed to be a necessary concomitant of overspill; little account is taken of alternative costs and rents; and, finally, the time factor is ignored—an old established central area is compared not with a pre-war estate but with an estate which is new or even in the process of being built.

To throw some light on the relative importance of the various factors involved a series of social surveys is being undertaken by the author on contrasted estates. The studies so far completed⁷ show that the question of 'social satisfaction' is an extremely complicated one, and an adequate discussion of all the issues cannot be attempted here. The object of this paper is more modest: it is to discuss the experience and attitudes of families who have moved to an overspill estate from the central areas of Salford in relation to the hypothesis put forward by Young and Willmott. The paper, therefore, does not provide a complete account of the social life of the estate, or of such things as attitudes towards rents, amenities and the cost of living. Instead, attention is concentrated on the effect of the move on family relationships, and the relative importance of the 'problem' to which this gives rise.

The estate studied is at Worsley, which lies about eight miles from the centre of Salford, but is within the South East Lancashire Conurbation of which Salford forms a part.⁸ Tenants have been selected for this estate from Salford's housing list, though the Worsley District Council, which is carrying out the development, has attempted by formal agreement to ensure that the overspill families form a reasonable cross-section of the Salford population.

In their survey at Greenleigh, Young and Willmott interviewed only 47 families. This enabled a fairly intensive study to be made but, as the authors point out (and has been consistently ignored) their conclusions 'are bound to be impressionistic.' Further, the Greenleigh sample was deliberately chosen so as to consist solely of parents with at least two children. This was done in order to provide a comparison with a sample interviewed in Bethnal Green. The results obtained by a survey designed in such a manner cannot give a reliable picture of the reactions of all types of family. We are

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not told what proportion of the total families on the estate were visited, nor is there any evidence to suggest how far those interviewed were representative. We only know that there were 268 who had moved from Bethnal Green and that 129 (48 per cent.) of these were families consisting of parents with two or more children. It was no part of the authors' intention to ascertain the views of families who had not come from Bethnal Green or of those who were of a different family composition. In the Worsley Social Survey the object was to interview a cross-section of families on the estate. The sample was selected on the basis of dwelling types: 10 per cent. of each class of dwellings were extracted from the local housing authority's records. Altogether 264 families were visited and 250 interviews obtained.

The interviews were carried out by staff and students of Manchester University during the months of July, August and September, 1958. The questionnaire was a long one (containing over 60 questions) and generally took about an hour to complete. In a number of cases the interviewers were invited into the houses and spent a whole evening in discussion with the families. These longer interviews were extremely useful and allowed us to discuss at length certain issues which had not been covered in the questionnaire. Much assistance was given in the design of the survey and the selection of the sample by officials of the Worsley U.D.C. and the Lancashire County Planning Department, but the actual survey was carried out independently.

Attitudes to moving from Salford.

Of the 250 families in the sample, 245 came from Salford. The other five came from other parts of the Manchester Conurbation, obtaining their houses by direct exchange. In 206 of the 245 families the wife was born in Salford. Of the remaining 39, 27 had lived in Salford for over 10 years, 7 for six to ten years, and 5 for five or less years. The majority, therefore, had—to use the words of one family—'strong roots in Salford.'

90 per cent. (224) of the families had wished to leave their previous house—in nearly all cases because of their cramped or insanitary housing conditions. As far as could be ascertained, the 10 per cent. of families (26) who had not wanted to leave their previous home had all been living in accommodation which was regarded by the Local Authority as insanitary or otherwise unsuit-

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able. Nearly a half of them (12) were not satisfied with their accommodation but did not wish to leave it: they would have preferred improvements to be carried out. Six other families were quite content with their accommodation and for this reason did not wish to move. All these eighteen families were evicted under slum clearance schemes. The remaining eight families were most dissatisfied with their previous houses but had wished to leave only if they could have obtained accommodation at a low rent (namely about 10/- gross a week). Nevertheless, since they had not been evicted under a slum clearance scheme, they had apparently been willing at the date of their move to Worsley to pay comparatively high rents (over 30/- gross a week) in order to obtain alternative accommodation. There was no difference in age, family structure or income between those wishing and those not wishing to leave their previous accommodation.

Since the overspill scheme was 'voluntary' it might have been expected that all the families who moved to Worsley had wished to do so. However, it was known that owing to the housing shortage in Salford, some families on the 'general needs' housing list had moved out solely in order to obtain adequate accommodation. All families were therefore asked whether they had wished to move to Worsley. Only 134 (54 per cent.) replied in the affirmative. The remainder maintained that they had moved because of the impossibility of obtaining a dwelling in Salford.

The survey revealed that those who had wished to move to Worsley had disliked the dirt and congestion in Salford and were prepared to spend more on rent and travelling to work in order to obtain 'decent living conditions and surroundings.' Most of those who had not wanted to move were also willing to spend more on rent but they did not want to incur the additional travelling expense. Though they thought Salford was 'a dirty place,' they were 'used to it,' and it had many compensations—proximity to friends and relatives, good shopping facilities, many amusements and 'plenty of life.' There was, however, a number of families (18) who had wished to leave neither Salford nor their previous house. These had all been displaced by slum clearance. Salford Council had a duty to rehouse them and had in fact offered them accommodation in the City. Why then had they preferred to go to Worsley? The answers given by these families illustrate the real complexity behind such a simple question as 'Did you want to leave Salford?' Six of them

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stated that since they were being displaced against their wishes and would have to pay a higher rent wherever they went they 'might as well go to Worsley.' The remaining twelve were young childless couples who were (in accordance with the policy of the Council) offered flats in Salford. This offer was considered to be 'the last straw.' Not only were they being displaced from cheap satisfactory houses against their wishes but also they were being offered 'noisy and inconvenient flats' in their place. Their annoyance at this was so great that even though they had to take flats in Worsley they preferred these to remaining in Salford. In justification of this apparently irrational choice they argued that the Worsley flats were far superior to those in Salford, and that they might stand a better chance of eventually obtaining a house there. Neither argument could be substantiated.

Kinship Ties.

All families were asked how many and which of their relatives were alive and where they were living. They were also asked if they preferred to live near their relatives, whether the move to Worsley had made contacts more difficult and whether they wished their relatives to move out to the estates. Other questions were designed to ascertain how far relatives used to provide assistance in the way of looking after children when the mother was at work or when the husband and wife went out for an evening's entertainment, and whether mutual aid had been provided in times of sickness.

30 (12 per cent.) of the 250 families interviewed had no relatives alive. Of the other 220 families, 51 per cent. had relatives living in Worsley, 89 per cent. had relatives in Salford⁹ and 41 per cent. had relatives in both Worsley and Salford. Using mutually exclusive enumerations, 11 per cent. had relatives in Worsley only, 48 per cent. in Salford only, and the remaining 41 per cent. in both Worsley and Salford.

With two-fifths of the families having relatives in both Worsley and Salford, the picture was a complicated one. Further, the 220 families had in total 1,637 living relatives. The task of analysing and describing in reasonably clear terms the complex relationships and the attitudes of the 220 families to these 1,637 relatives is extraordinarily difficult. Several alternative analyses were attempted and it was finally decided to present the findings in two parts. Families were divided into two groups: 'elderly' and 'others.' The

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intention was to separate those families in which the relatives were married children from those in which they were elderly parents. This was not always simple to do since several families in which the head was between 45 and 65 had both married children and elderly parents. The rule adopted was that all families in which either the husband or wife was 60 or over were counted as 'elderly.'

(a) Elderly Families.

On the definition adopted there were 25 elderly families with relatives alive. The web of family relationships was too complex to permit a simple statistical analysis and the numbers involved were too small to allow any detailed breakdown. Nevertheless, several interesting points emerged from a study of these families.

Ten had married children and a further three had other relatives in Worsley. The proximity of the relatives was a source of comfort to these elderly people:

'It's nice having the younger ones out here. I've got someone I can turn to when I get bad. My daughter does most of my shopping for me. I don't know what I'd do without her.'

Four of the elderly families had moved to Worsley because their children had been rehoused there. All of these commented that they would not have left Salford but for this fact:

'I've lived all my life in Salford. I wouldn't have believed you if you had told me I would come out here. But when first Mary and then Betty and John moved out I decided to come. I didn't want to go in one of those big blocks (of flats) and it's so much nicer being near your own (children).'

The benefits were not all one-way. Three of the elderly families looked after young children during the day while the mother was at work, and several said that they helped at other times. Similar comments were made by the three elderly families who had other relatives living in Worsley. These 13 families were 'settled' in Worsley. Though they had had some qualms about leaving Salford they now had no wish to go back.

The remaining 12 elderly families had no relatives living in Worsley. Eight had married children who lived in Salford. This was rather surprising: one hears much of the plight of old people whose children have moved to new estates, yet here we find eight families in which the opposite was the case. It transpired that all of these moved to Worsley because they could not get accommodation in Salford. Three were 'not on speaking terms' with their children but the others missed the companionship and mutual aid which

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proximity to their children permitted when they lived in Salford. The latter, however, were expecting their children to move to Worsley during the next two years.

The four families who had other relatives in Salford said that they 'did not bother with relatives' and had 'no feelings' when asked if they would have liked them to move out. Kinship ties had been very weak when they lived in Salford and they now had no desire to strengthen them. Nevertheless, three of these were dissatisfied with life on the overspill estates and wished to return to Salford.

The picture here, though simplified,¹⁰ seems clear. It appeared that among most elderly households the proximity of relations, and particularly married children, greatly affected satisfaction with life on the estate.

(b) 'Other Families.'

There were 195 'other families' with relatives in Salford or Worsley. In 111 cases the wife's mother was alive. Since it has been well established that the closest relationship is usually between mother and daughter¹¹ these 111 families have been treated separately.

Mothers and Wives.

It often seems to be assumed by the critics of overspill that 'mothers' who are 'left behind' are frail, grey-haired old ladies spending their last remaining years in a lonely and dreary way, deprived of the companionship of their married children by the machinations of bureaucracy. Our findings did not support this stereotype. The majority of the 'mothers' referred to by the families we interviewed were agile, middle-aged women who went out to work full-time. And—if the comments we heard are to be believed—some of them were not 'kindly souls.' Quite often we were told of the 'interfering —' who had tried to dictate to their married children how they should run their homes. This was particularly the case among families in which the mother had lived with them—comprising 30 per cent. of all families in which the wife's mother was alive. For many of these families the move to Worsley had led to a very welcome weakening of kinship ties.

However, this was not the predominant picture. 23 per cent. of the 111 families had the wife's mother living in Worsley. Amongst this group the move to Worsley had made little difference to actual relationships. And among those whose mothers still lived in Salford

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the frequency of contact seemed to have changed surprisingly little. This can be seen in Table 1. There is little difference in 'frequency of contact' between those families in which the wife's mother lived in Worsley and those in which she lived in Salford. This, of course, is a somewhat crude measure, though it should not be dismissed as insignificant.

TABLE 1.

111 'Other Families': Location of Wife's Mother and Frequency of Contact.

	Prior to moving to Worsley	Since moving to Worsley Wife's mother now living in Worsley	Wife's mother now living in Salford
	%	%	%
Mother living as a member of wife's family	30	3	—
Mother living separately and seen by wife:—			
At least once a week ...	29	56	52
At least once a month but less than once a week ...	28	29	32
Less than once a month ...	13	12	16
100% Equals ...	111	25	86

Of the 86 wives who had their mothers living in Salford, nearly a half (42) would have liked them to move out to Worsley. They found travelling to Salford irksome and expensive; they missed 'having Mum round the corner.'

'I don't want her living on top of us, but it's nice when she's near. People round here are a bit "stand-offish." It's good to have your own people near.'

'We're much too far away here—all on our own. I get thrombosis bad and my mother used to come in and help when we lived in Salford. Now my husband has to stay off work if I'm real bad.'

Yet the other half of these families did not particularly want to have their mothers on the estates. The reasons varied: some thought that it was 'better not to have her too near'; others were not very attached to their mothers; a few 'had nothing to do' with them.

TABLE 2.

44 Wives who did not want their Mothers to move to Worsley—Analysis of reasons.

	No.	%
'Better not to have mother too near'	10	23
'Not very attached to mother' or 'no feelings' ...	16	36
'Had nothing to do with mother'	8	18
'Mother would not like it here'	10	23
	44	100

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One qualification is necessary: ten wives (23 per cent.) did not answer the question directly and are recorded as saying that their mothers 'would not like it here.' It is probably significant that seven of these wives were dissatisfied with life on the estates and wished to return to Salford.

These were the opinions given by wives. A small number of husbands who were interviewed heartily reinforced their wives' attitudes. Indeed, our impression was that had the question been confined to husbands a different overall picture would have emerged: the proportion not wishing to have the wife's mother in Worsley would have been considerably greater.

Mutual Aid in Salford.

All wives who had mothers alive in Salford were asked in what ways mutual aid was given before the move to Worsley and what changes had taken place since the move. In the majority of cases very little aid (with one important exception) had in fact been given: 80 per cent. of mothers had been at work full-time and therefore had been unable to help their daughters during the day. Almost all the wives maintained that they had 'never been ill.' Very few used to go out in the evenings with their husbands. It was at childbirth that the wife's mother assumed a really important rôle. 88 per cent. of the wives said that their mothers had given assistance before and after—and in some cases during—childbirth. Apart from this, however, there were only two ways in which mutual aid had been given: 13 per cent. of mothers used to look after the children while the wife went out to work, and 7 per cent. of wives used to help their mothers when they were ill. These figures—which are given in Table 4—were so unexpected that we revisited a 20 per cent. sample (22 families) to check on the accuracy of the answers. These supplementary interviews largely confirmed the findings. It appeared that wives succumbed rarely to an illness:

'I never got so bad as to go to bed. I always managed to carry on.'

As in the Young and Willmott study¹² the question of illness appeared to amuse many wives. It seemed that they regarded their rôle in the family too important to be upset by illness. Nevertheless, in three of these supplementary interviews the wife was able to remember one illness when she had had to go into hospital. In two cases the husband and children 'managed by themselves' and in the third case the wife's mother looked after the children until the

husband came home from work.

Our further questioning on entertainment confirmed that husbands and wives rarely went out together:

'We used to go out a lot before the children came, but afterwards we never did.'

The wives appeared to take their 'entertainment' with other wives, and in a similar manner the husbands mixed only with their own sex. Indeed, in answer to the question 'who used to look after the children when you and your husband went out in the evening?' 89 per cent. of the wives who had children said that they never went out with their husbands.

The figures suggest that the wives who, at the date of the survey, had their mothers living in Worsley or who wished they would move there, were more frequently helped by their mothers than those who did not want them to move out.

Mutual Aid in Worsley.

The move to Worsley seemed to have had no effect on the amount of assistance given by mothers at childbirth. 60 wives had had children since the move and in 53 cases (88 per cent.) aid was forthcoming from the wife's mother. This is precisely the same proportion as recorded for births taking place in Salford. Rather surprisingly, it did not make any difference whether the mother lived in Worsley or Salford: the proportion was the same for both groups. In some cases (about 25 per cent.) the wife's mother had actually come to stay with the family for a week or so. In many cases other relatives on the overspill estates also helped. In short, the move has not made any noticeable difference to the amount of help a family usually received. This, of course, is an average picture. Six of the families maintained that life had been very difficult for a few weeks owing to the fact that the wife's mother could not afford the time or money to travel daily. But the predominant impression was that families were able to help each other very much as before the move—though at a higher cost for the mothers who still lived in Salford.

Moving to Worsley had similarly made no difference to baby-sitting or care of the wife during times of illness, for the simple reason that the need hardly ever arose. Nearly all the wives (92 per cent.) reported that they had not been ill since living on the estates and also maintained that they 'never go out.'

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But among wives who had their mothers living nearby there was a considerable amount of mutual aid in two other ways. First, in five cases (20 per cent.) the mother looked after the wife's children while she went out to work. Secondly, ten wives (40 per cent.) had assisted their mothers in time of illness.¹³ It is interesting to note that in this group the amount of assistance rendered by wives to mothers was much greater after the move to Worsley than it had been when both mothers and wives lived in Salford.¹⁴ Previously only 4 per cent. of wives used to give help, whereas at the date of the survey the proportion was 40 per cent. The comments made by these wives suggested that this was because the mothers were now older and more liable to illness; also fewer of the wives were at work and were thus able to give help. Further, whereas in Salford several relations had been available to give help, in Worsley the responsibility fell mainly on the one wife.

Among the 86 families in which the wife's mother was still living in Salford the amount of mutual aid had declined (ignoring aid at childbirth). Only 4 wives reported any giving of assistance. In two cases wives travelled to Salford to work each day and left one or two young children with their mothers. Two other wives said that they gave occasional assistance to their mothers when they were ill.

Several questions now arise. How far was the reduction in mutual aid forced on the families by reason of their physical separation? How many mothers had been left behind in Salford with no one to look after them in time of illness? And how many wives would have gone out to work if their mothers had been living in Worsley and able to look after the children?

The Mothers 'Left Behind.'

It has already been observed that, among the 86 families in which the wife's mother had been 'left behind' in Salford, only about a half of the wives said that they preferred their mothers to move out to Worsley. It has also been pointed out that the majority of mothers were not old people. Nevertheless, our enquiries revealed that some of the wives did have elderly mothers who needed care and attention. The number of such mothers was thirteen. But in eight cases these mothers had other married daughters and other relatives who were able and (according to our respondents) willing to look after them. Thus in only five cases had overspill resulted in old people being left in Salford without any relative to care for them. All five old people

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had applied for a bungalow in Worsley and were hoping to be moved shortly.

The Wives 'on their own.'

According to our statistics the only way in which wives were likely to miss the assistance that could be given by their mothers was in connection with the care of children while they were at work. But even this appeared to be of little importance. As already mentioned, many mothers were themselves at work. Indeed, only six wives whose mothers were able to look after their children said that since their move to Worsley they had—on this account—been unable to go out to work. A far bigger factor was the shortage of work itself.¹⁵

Contact with other relatives.

Of the 195 families, 178 had relatives alive other than the wife's mother. It proved impossible within the framework of this survey to study intensively the effect of the move to Worsley on this wider family network. Nevertheless, it seems clear that contact with these other relatives had been much reduced. Before the move 46 per cent. of relatives were seen at least once a week. After the move the proportion fell to 27 per cent. for relatives living in Worsley and 16 per cent. for those living in Salford. Such a measure as this cannot, of course, give any idea of the 'intensity' or quality of the relationships. However, the comments made by the families do throw some light on this.

'I had 26 relatives all living in the same street or the next one. It was quite a little colony. We did a lot for each other. Those (relatives) that lived in Pendleton (less than one mile away) were out of things.'

This and similar comments suggest that it is the proximity of relatives that leads to frequent contact and exchange of services rather than actual kinship ties. One wife who had fourteen relatives in Salford saw them only occasionally:

'I didn't see much of any of them except my mother. They lived too far away.'

—Yet 'too far away' was only three-quarters of a mile.

The strong tendency of the Salford families to live in close proximity to each other was, we found, often due simply to the fact that relatives were able to 'speak for' the young wife. They had detailed knowledge of the 'room-market' in the immediate locality and were able to obtain accommodation before it came into the 'open' market.¹⁶ The housing shortage in Salford is so great that few families

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have any real choice. Young families requiring accommodation are more likely to get it in the 'kinship colony' than in areas where they are unknown. This tends to perpetuate frequency of contact with relatives—whether or not this is regarded as desirable in itself.

Nevertheless, some families were closely attached to their relatives and enjoyed living near them:

'It was a real community in Salford. We had all our relatives and friends close by. We were never in want for anything—there was always somebody to give a hand.'

For families who shared this attitude the move to Worsley often resulted in a most unwelcome break-up of kinship ties. But a word of caution is necessary. We were interviewing families after they had moved. Those who missed the companionship of their relatives may have done so as a *consequence* of their dislike of the overspill estate. Similarly those who were very happy living in the new surroundings may, *again as a consequence*, not have missed their relatives. It is extremely difficult to separate cause and effect. It is, however, a fact that the move to Worsley greatly reduced the amount of association with relatives—with the important exception (discussed earlier) of the wife's mother.

It is interesting to note that even among the relatives who lived at Worsley there was less frequent contact than there had been when they had all lived in Salford. This reduction in kinship-association on the overspill estates was a consequence of the different pattern of life which was followed. The families 'kept themselves to themselves,' became 'home-centred' rather than 'community-conscious'—or, to use Mogeys term, were 'family-centred,' not 'neighbourhood-centred.'¹⁷ Energies were concentrated in the home, in the garden and round the T.V. set:

'We stay at home here. There is much less popping in to see relatives and friends.'

'We don't bother with relatives out here. We live our own life. We've got a lovely house, a nice garden and a T.V. set. We're very happy.'

For many families the new pattern of life was enjoyed—or at least accepted as a necessary consequence of their having 'improved themselves.' But, for others the social climate on the estate, the constant pressures to conform to a different pattern of life, the strain of long journeys to work and the break-up of kinship ties all combined to make life unpleasant and barren. To isolate which factor was the most important was virtually impossible: it was the totality of the situation rather than any one change which afflicted the unhappy

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families. As already suggested, it cannot be concluded that separation from relatives was the cause of dissatisfaction: it may well be simply the observed symptom.

Nevertheless, the overall impression we received was that, for the majority of families, kinship was of less importance than financial factors and the length of the journey to work.¹⁸

The families who wish to return.

Although nearly a half of the 250 families interviewed said that they had not wished to move to Worsley, only 17 per cent. wanted to return to Salford. The majority of families seemed to have settled down to their suburban way of life whether or not they had wished to leave Salford. Indeed, the proportion wishing to return was the same among those who had wished to move to Worsley as among those who had not wished to move.

Those who wished to return were no different in age, family structure or income from those who wished to remain. Two main factors seemed to be associated with dissatisfaction—separation from relatives and a lengthy journey to work. An analysis of the families who wished to return is given in Table 3.

TABLE 3.
Analysis of 43 families who wished to return to Salford.

	Total number of families	Families who wished to return to Salford	
		No.	%
<i>(a) Relatives</i>			
No relatives alive	30	5	12
Relatives in Salford only	106	23	53
Relatives in Salford and Worsley	91	10	23
Relatives in Worsley only	23	5	12
	<hr/> 250	<hr/> 43	<hr/> 17
<i>(b) Journey to work*</i>			
Not at work	30	3	7
Long journey to work	150	31	72
Short journey to work	61	9	21
Unemployed, etc.†	9	0	0
	<hr/> 250	<hr/> 43	<hr/> 17

*A long journey to work was defined as one which involved an expenditure of more than 1s. 6d. a day on fares or one hour's travelling time for the single journey.

†Five chief wage earners whose place of employment varied, one in H.M. Forces, and three unemployed.

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It would appear that length of journey to work was the factor most associated with the desire to return to Salford. This was strongly corroborated by the reasons actually given by these families.

TABLE 4.

Analysis of reasons for wishing to return to Salford (43 families).

<i>Reasons for wishing to return to Salford—</i>	<i>No. of families</i>	<i>% of total 43 families</i>
To be nearer wife's mother	7	16
To be nearer other relatives	3	7
To be nearer work	16	37
'Cheaper to live in Salford'	9	20
'More life in Salford'	8	20
	43	100

A third wished to return in order to be nearer work and a further fifth because the cost of living was lower in Salford. In fact all those who gave the latter reason worked in Salford. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that over a half of those wishing to return did so mainly or partly because of the length or cost of the journey to work from Worsley. A quarter (10) wished to be nearer their relatives, and the remaining fifth (8) disliked the 'somewhat sanitary' atmosphere of Worsley. They preferred the hustle and bustle of Salford:

'There's much more going on there. We know it's dirty, but it's a friendly place. You know where you are and you're settled. Here everyone is on the "up and up." We're going back as soon as we can get a place.'

The importance of the 'high cost of living' in Worsley as a source of dissatisfaction was stressed again when the families who wished to return to Salford were asked what rents they were prepared to pay. Eleven families (26 per cent.) were willing to pay higher rents, generally because so much would be 'saved' in travelling expenses:

'It's worth paying more in Salford. We'd save over a pound a week in fares and be on top of our work.'

'We'd rather spend the money in extra rent and do away with all the travelling.'

Only two of these eleven families thought it was 'worth paying a higher rent just to be in Salford.' The remaining 32 families would have returned to Salford only if they had been able to obtain accommodation there at the same rent as they were paying in Worsley (19 families) or at a lower rent (13 families). Over a half of these specified certain areas as being the only ones to which they would move. Nearly all of them qualified their answers by saying that they

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would go back only if they could obtain dwellings of the 'Worsley standard':

'We'd go back to cut down travelling, but we want to go to Broughton. We've looked for houses there but they're too expensive. We want a house as good as this.'

These families had become accustomed to modern amenities and standards and were not willing to accept 'inferior' dwellings even at a lower price. Flats in particular were considered to be a sub-standard type of accommodation. Families who were prepared to pay a high rent for a house in Salford would not accept a flat there unless it had a considerably lower rent. Indeed, of the 43 families wishing to return, only 8 were prepared to live in any type of flat. Flats were acceptable in the main only to families without children.

It may be significant that all the families who wished to return to Salford had lived on the estates for less than fourteen months. They had not passed the 'critical point.' Probably some of them never will, but discussions with other families suggested that after the first six months, 'the next year or so is the worst.' Families who survived this period of disillusionment became settled and had no urge to return.

Conclusions.

For the majority of families on the Worsley overspill estates the move from Salford had involved considerable changes in their way of life. The intimate social life of the slums had given way to the more reserved, home-centred life of the typical middle-class suburb. Contacts with relatives were much reduced. Many families had for the first time to contend with a long and comparatively expensive journey to work. This, together with a very large increase in rents (on average about 200 per cent.) and the social necessity to 'keep up appearances' resulted in social and economic strains which sometimes made the process of adjustment a long and arduous one. Nevertheless, for the majority of families these difficulties were accepted as a necessary price that had to be paid for the great improvement in living conditions. Over a quarter of the families had moved from shared and overcrowded houses; a further third had previously lived in unhealthy, damp and obsolescent accommodation. Their present living conditions formed a most striking and welcome contrast.

Though nearly a half of the families had not wished to move

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from Salford, only 17 per cent. wished to return. The biggest source of dissatisfaction was the journey to work: two-thirds of the earners worked in the central areas of the conurbation. Though some employment was available locally it seemed generally to be poorly paid and offered few prospects for advancement. The shortage of local employment for women—particularly part-time—made this problem an urgent one. As the 'bulge' passes out of the secondary schools it will become even greater. Only an eighth of the young people who left school in the years 1953 to 1958 had obtained work locally. Between 1958 and 1963 over 1,400 young people from the estates will be seeking work.

This was undoubtedly the major problem facing the overspill scheme. Kinship was of far less importance. Over half the families already had relatives living on the estates, but the contacts between these families were much fewer than they had been before the move. Separation from the 'extended family' was for over half the families a matter of no concern. For the majority of the others it was regarded as a minor incidental disadvantage of suburban life. Nevertheless, for a very small number of families the separation from relatives, and in particular from the wife's mother or the mother's daughter, was a cause of real dissatisfaction.

Several qualifications need to be borne in mind in assessing the extent to which these findings are of general application. First, it is likely that there would have been a greater amount of dissatisfaction in Worsley had not so many families had relatives living there. Nevertheless, the survey shows that the break-up of kinship ties is not a *necessary* concomitant of overspill. It is not inherent in the concept of overspill that relatives must be left behind! Secondly, Worsley is only eight miles from Salford: the move was essentially one to the suburbs. Had the estates been sixty miles away (as Swindon is from London) a different picture may have emerged, although the Swindon Survey, which is now nearly completed, does not, in fact, show a different picture. Thirdly, the survey covered only those families who remained in Worsley: nothing is known of the 236 families who had moved back to Salford.¹⁹ It is probable that there has been a process of voluntary selection and that the families who remain are the most satisfied. This does not vitiate the findings: on the contrary it shows the importance of the time element. Any move is disturbing; when it is accompanied by great changes in family expenditure and routine as well as by the problem of settling in a different social climate, the

period of 'orientation' is bound to be a long one. On this point it is interesting to note that all the families who wished to return to Salford had lived in Worsley for less than fourteen months. Most probably in another year's time these families will either have settled down or returned to Salford.

The overall impression thus differs from that gained by Young and Willmott in Greenleigh. It seems reasonable to suppose that the picture in the New Towns would be even more favourable—as is evidenced by the very low removal rate.²⁰

Young and Willmott's study should be viewed as a swing of the pendulum of thought: for too long housing and planning specialists were so concerned with the sheer size of the problems facing them that the social quality of the physical results they were producing was ignored—in practice if not in theory. To show that rehousing and redevelopment involves the destruction of a social milieu is a welcome corrective, and should make 'the planners' aware of their responsibilities to recreate something equally if not more socially desirable.²¹ But, to quote Hazlitt, 'With change of place we change our ideas; nay our opinions and feelings.'²² The social life of the slums is not necessarily a precious flower to be preserved and transplanted into a new environment. The fact that people follow a certain pattern of life in a given environment and are temporarily upset when that pattern is disturbed does not mean that the disturbance should be avoided. Even this overstates the case since the disturbance is not upsetting if the new environment is a good one; or at least the upset is small in comparison with the superior living conditions provided. The sympathetic sociologist is apt to read too much into the happy way of life of the dear old London slums with their fish and chip saloons and pawn shops. At the extreme, much of the patter reads like a modern version of 'the poor are happier as they are'. Theories of cultural relativity are invaluable to the historian, but to the social policy-maker they can easily become blinkers. This is not to say that social factors are to be ignored: indeed, it is because they so often have been ignored in the past that the sociologists' dicta are now so uncritically welcomed. The rehousing of young families with children on a distant housing estate while aged parents are left behind (because they are not in 'housing need') is obviously undesirable. The building of standard three bedroom houses to the exclusion of all other types is an equally short-sighted and inadequate policy. But to suggest that overspill should be stopped is to

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carry the argument to its illogical conclusion. In any case it cannot be stopped: if it is not provided for in the public sector, then private enterprise will meet the need. Young and Willmott make much of the fact that people want to stay in Bethnal Green: they give insufficient emphasis to the fact that the population of the Borough fell by 59,000 (from 117,000 to 58,000) between 1921 and 1951. The enormous movement of population out of areas such as Bethnal Green and Salford will not stop until they are made attractive places in which to live:

'How can I get out of here?—when can I get out of here?: that, continually is at the back of both their minds, to get out of Barbary Street, out of East London. For ten generations almost everybody in East London has wanted to get out of the place.'²

University of Manchester.

¹ See J. B. Cullingworth: *Restraining Urban Growth—The Problem of Overspill*, Fabian Society, 1960 and 'Some Administrative Problems of Planned Overspill,' *Public Administration*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, Winter 1959.

² Notable exceptions include C. M. McGonigle and J. Kirby: *Poverty and Public Health*, 1936; T. Young: *Becontree and Dagenham*, 1934; Birmingham Social Survey Committee: *Nutrition and Size of Family—Report on a New Housing Estate*, 1939.

³ T. Brennan: 'Gorbals: A Study in Redevelopment,' *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. IV, No. 2, June 1957, pp. 114-126.

⁴ M. Young and P. Willmott: *Family and Kinship in East London*, 1957, p. 155.

⁵ M. Young: 'The Planners and the Planned—The Family,' *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, Vol. XL, May 1954, p. 137. The practical possibility of this apparent pipe dream is discussed in this article and in *Family and Kinship in East London*, Ch. XII. See also 'The Living Suburb,' *Architecture and Building*, Vol. XXXIII, September and October 1958, p. 321 *et seq.*

⁶ Stated by Charles Cornwall Legh, Lord of the Manor of Legh, at the Inquiry into the Proposed Development of Land at Lymm for Manchester Overspill. See *Manchester Guardian*, 14.1.58.

⁷ The main Worsley survey is complete, but a supplementary survey of families who have moved back to Salford is at present being analysed. A study of families who have moved to the 'expanded town' of Swindon is also under way. It is hoped to complete the series with a study in a New Town.

⁸ An account of the history and administration of the Worsley development is to be found in the author's paper 'Overspill in South-East Lancashire: the Salford-Worsley Overspill Scheme,' *Town Planning Review*, Vol. XXX, No. 3, October 1959. See also H. B. Rodgers: 'Employment and the Journey to Work in an Overspill Community,' *Sociological Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2, December 1959.

J. B. Cullingworth

⁹ Three families also had relatives in Manchester and four had relatives also in other parts of the Conurbation.

¹⁰ For instance, three elderly families had married daughters living in both Worsley and Salford and six had other relatives living in Salford. Five had two or more married daughters.

¹¹ See particularly M. Young and P. Willmott, *op. cit.*

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹³ The fact that all the wives reported no illness since moving to Worsley, whereas ten mothers had presumably been ill needs some comment. The main reason for this apparent paradox seems to lie in the different ages of the wives and mothers. The wives were all under 50, whereas the mothers were all over 60. (It might also be suggested that women succumb much more easily to illness when they have no heavy family responsibilities).

¹⁴ It may be, of course, that aid rendered in the closer social atmosphere of Salford was less 'noticed' than it was in Worsley.

¹⁵ See H. B. Rodgers, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ For similar findings, see M. Young and P. Willmott, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27; J. B. Mays: 'Cultural Conformity in Urban Areas,' *Sociological Review*, July 1958; and J. M. Mogey: *Family and Neighbourhood*, Oxford University Press, 1956.

¹⁷ J. M. Mogey, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁸ See H. B. Rodgers, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ A sample survey of these families is now being undertaken. The preliminary findings suggest that the major reason for returning was the dissatisfaction with the long journey to work.

²⁰ At the 31st March 1959 Crawley had a population of 50,000. Only 1,430 households left Corporation-subsidised dwellings since the New Town started. The reasons were:

Moved to non-subsidised dwellings in district	...	351
Left district (reason):		
Domestic	...	173
Health	...	23
Employment	...	495
Emigrated	...	179
Unsettled	...	111
Not known	...	75
Doubled up with another C.D.C. household	...	10
Died (single persons)	...	13
		<hr/> 1,430

See Crawley Development Corporation, 12th Annual Report, *Reports of the Development Corporations*, 1959, House of Commons Paper No. 315, 1959.

²¹ Communities cannot be 'planned' but community facilities can. There is an extensive literature on this subject, but see P.E.P. 'Can Communities Be Planned?' *Planning*, Vol. XV, No. 296, 1949.

²² W. Hazlitt: *On Going on a Journey, Selected Essays*, Ed. G. Keynes, Nonesuch Press 1930, p. 79. Quoted in Young and Willmott, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

²³ Frank Tilsley: *Heaven and Herbert Common*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953, p. 19.

ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF A UNIVERSITY HALL OF RESIDENCE*

Anthony Giddens

The particular Hall of Residence discussed in this paper is attached to the University of Hull. The Hall forms two distinct units. One consists of a new brick building which was completed in 1957; the second is made up of a miscellaneous collection of Nissen huts and small brick blocks, which, in the interests of economy, the University acquired as residences for male students not long after the Second World War. For a number of years the Hall consisted of these huts alone; they were in use up to the Christmas vacation of the academic year 1957-58, at which time the last of the students were either moved into the brick blocks, the new building, or into lodgings away from the Hall altogether. The total number of students living in the Hall now is 234.

The brick blocks house eight students apiece, in individual rooms, which are, however, very small. The men at present resident in these blocks are all first-year students, but there is a scheme on hand to enlarge the rooms in these blocks and these will then be taken over by senior men.

The change-over from the huts to the new building, while being protracted over several years, has had marked effects upon the social structure of the Hall, which are treated later in the paper.

Social Organization: the Formal Structure.

The Warden, Sub-Warden and resident lecturers comprise the 'Senior Common Room'; the students form, as a collective entity, a body known as the 'Junior Common Room.' Heading the Junior Common Room is the President. He is elected annually by the students in their Common Room meetings, which are held at irregular intervals throughout the term. A Committee is elected

* I would like to thank Dr. P. M. Worsley and Mr. G. Horobin of the University of Hull who read and criticized the paper.

annually to help the President to look after the interests of the Junior Common Room. The election of the three members of the Committee and a Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary, is taken on a show of hands in a Common Room Meeting. In the Common Room Meeting (at which only students are present) all kinds of matters are discussed. Most of them concern the dissatisfaction of students with some aspect of the Hall administration.

The Warden plays very little part in this side of student affairs; occasionally, however, an Extraordinary Common Room Meeting may be called when the Warden wishes to communicate something of particular importance to the students in person. Although the Warden is available to meet any member of the Hall wishing to see him about any matter, in his office as specified times, the only regular occasion on which the students see him is at dinner each evening. 'Formal Dinner' as it is called, commences at 6-30 p.m. on each weekday: the Wardens and Sub-Wardens enter at this time and take their places at the head of the hall. When they enter, the students rise, resuming their seats after a very short grace is said by the Warden. Should any student enter the hall after grace, he is required to apologise publicly to the Warden at the head table before taking his seat, to the accompaniment of reprobatory hissing by students already in the hall. This serves as an effective means of assuring the prompt arrival of students to dinner; very rarely does a person offend more than once and it is not everyone who is impervious enough to public disapprobation to come into dinner at all if he fears he is late.

First year students are universally known as 'freshers' by senior students of the Hall and at one time their status used to be far inferior to what it is now. The status of 'fresher' denies to its incumbent a number of privileges accorded to senior gentlemen; among these are that they may not grow moustaches or beards and must give up their seats in the common-room to senior gentlemen whenever some of the latter are without seats. The differential of accorded privileges is partially set down in the 'Ancient Rights.'

The 'Ancient Rights' is a typescript document which formulates in semi-jocular, semi-formal manner the rules of procedure of Common Room Meetings and the status, privileges and obligations of the President, officials and more general categories of 'freshers' and senior students. Within the general category of freshers are differentiated the 'first-year gentlemen,' defined as any first-year

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student who has not come to the university straight from school, i.e. who has been in a job for a year or more or on his National Service. First-year gentlemen are entitled under the 'Ancient Rights' to grow moustaches if they wish, but not beards. The distinction between freshers and first-year gentlemen undoubtedly dates back to the time just after the war, when the Hall was composed entirely of the Nissen huts. Many of the students at that time had served in the Forces; they gained control of the Presidentship and Committee places, a control which later passed into the hands of men who had done their National Service or worked for some years before coming to college. This has lasted down to today; the President is an ex-Army man and so is the Secretary: it seems probable that the wider experience which these men have presumably acquired over those who have come direct from school and who are also their juniors in years, gives them the confidence necessary to display prominence and so secure election to an official position.

The demarcation drawn between first-year and other students is more marked than that drawn between second-year students and those more senior, but a definite hierarchy of privilege exists between all students of different years. Such distinctions are formally embodied in the practice of the progressive assignment of students to the tables in the dining-hall in terms of seniority. First-year students occupy a range of tables in the hall at one end, the second-year students the tables next to these, the third-year students the next block of tables and finally at the top table sit the President and Vice-President, with any graduate students who are resident in the Hall. The arrangement of tables is such that first-year students have the least distance to cover to find a seat after apologising to the Warden; the more senior the person who is late, the greater the reprobation he thus incurs.

Informal Social Organisation.

The main building consists of a number of distinct blocks, all having three floors, with five rooms on each floor. The principal unit of informal social organization and stratification is the clique. The leading clique is that headed by the President and includes two members of the Committee. The dominant block is 'E' block. In this block live the President, Vice-President and the principal members of their clique. Next to 'E' block is 'D' block which houses the Secretary and the Treasurer and the principal members of their clique. The

members of 'E' block clique are most active in the affairs of the Hall and usually volunteer for any work which has to be done, e.g. preparing for a dance or a barbecue.

The design of the main building has in itself fostered the development of cliques. Cliques tend to develop:—

(a) On the basis of floor membership. The five members of a floor often tend to associate closely with each other, go to dances together and so on. The floor clique has replaced the old hut cliques. The clique develops around the mutual dependencies and obligations associated with the sharing of the floor kitchen, bathroom and the Hall institution of 'Supper.' In the new building blocks there is no kitchen on the ground floor and the students on the bottom two floors both use the kitchen on the second floor. Thus the formation of two sorts of cliques is encouraged; firstly the floor cliques of the ground floor and second floor and, secondly, a clique which includes selected members from both floors and is organized around a sphere of common interest, such as membership of a sports club or college society.

(b) On the basis of block membership. Inter-floor cliques sometimes develop which have members taken from all three floors, but which do not include all members of the block. In the case of any clique there can be persons whose affiliations with people in other blocks or floors may breach the lines of clique organization; there is no formal obligation to belong to any clique as such and people who wish to keep themselves to themselves may do so. They pay the price in enjoying less intimate relations with the members of their floor or block and sometimes form a convenient target for out-group aggression. Such persons may be completely ostracized by the others on their floor and occasionally leave the hall altogether or move into another block.

Thus in the Hall as a whole, the social structure is informally organized into an interacting hierarchy of cliques. We have (a) floor cliques (b) block cliques (c) 'common interest' cliques. The latter category is a misnomer in that it is not meant to imply that the other cliques are not founded on common interests and exigencies; a 'common interest' clique is an extra-block clique which develops as a result of the interaction of individuals in the pursuit of common interests. Thus we may speak correctly of the existence of a card-playing clique or of a Methodist clique. The same person may of course belong to one or more of all three types of clique. Clique

Aspects of the Social Structure of a University Hall of Residence membership overlaps to a greater or lesser extent so that, for example, three people may be members of the same floor, block and 'common interest' cliques.

Social status in the Hall is partially determined by membership of official positions, of the President's or other high-ranking cliques, or by friendship with members of high-ranking cliques. Status is, of course, actually dependent upon a multiplicity of other qualities or characteristics, among them, as has been mentioned, whether one is a fresher or a senior. But a fresher, especially one who has done his National Service, or is a personal friend of one of the President's clique, may have a higher status than a second or third year man.

Social Control: Sanctions.

The Trial. Formal sanctions exist for the open punishment of those who transgress Hall codes of behaviour. The custom of the trial is as old as the Hall itself. Trials are informally divided into those which are 'serious' and those which are not. 'Serious' trials are conducted when a student commits an offence which is deemed a very severe transgression; for example, if a student has wilfully damaged or misappropriated the property of another, the person concerned may indict him for trial rather than report him to the Warden. 'Serious' trials are very few and far between.

In the more usual type of trial, the offence is a transgression of some minor section of the 'Ancient Rights,' and its manifest function² is to provide amusement for Hall members at the expense of one or more individuals. In these trials it is concluded beforehand that the defendant is to be found guilty; what is important is not that he shall be found guilty of an offence, but that he should be publicly reprimanded by being made to suffer some small humiliation, e.g. having his face daubed with paint, or having to deliver personally the President's newspapers for a week. This type of trial usually occurs at least once each term and the person or persons accused are nearly always freshers. A trial may only be attended by peers or elders of the defendant: thus there is little point in holding a trial of anyone more senior than a second-year student, as there would be at the most a very small audience present. It is usually impossible to try anyone more senior than third-year, since a person may only be tried if at least ten of his peers sign a statement indicting him and there are usually not as many as ten students in the Hall of more than three years' standing.

The principal figures of the trial are the Judge, the Counsel for the Defence, Counsel for the Prosecution, the witnesses and the jury. At least one, sometimes all, of these parts are taken by members of the President's clique. Although speeches are made by the respective counsels 'for the defence' and 'for the prosecution,' they are used merely as an opportunity to be witty and usually take a more or less obscene character; they have very little, if any, relation to the individual's supposed offence. The Judge's summing-up is of a like character and the result of the jury's deliberations is always a verdict of guilty; the witnesses who are called during the case have, of course, no relation to the offence or the offender, but are introduced as aids in producing the comedy.

The latent functions of the trials would seem to be the following. Firstly, they represent an effort on the part of the senior members of the Hall to emphasize the inferior position of the freshers by the public humiliation of one of their number. The accused in the trials are nearly always freshers and the fact that a person may not be indicted by his inferiors means that any ten senior men may agree to put a fresher on trial for some offence, either imaginary or actual, against some canon of the 'Ancient Rights' if he becomes 'too big for his boots.' Thus, secondly, a trial is a dynamic reaffirmation of the sanctity of, and a demonstration to the freshers of the necessity of abiding by, the tenets of the 'Ancient Rights.' Since the 'Ancient Rights' embodies within it the formal organization of authority in the Hall, the trial is a force of inertia, effective in establishing the conformity of new members of the Hall toward pre-existing codes of behaviour; as such, it is essentially a conservative force.

The Smoker. The 'Smoker,' held annually in the first term of the academic year, is a concert which the freshers put on for the entertainment of the senior members of the Hall. The Smoker is produced and played entirely by the freshers before an audience of senior gentlemen. Drink is imported in quantity and the evening is treated as an opportunity for celebration. The response to the efforts of the freshers is partly determined by the attitude with which the senior men come to the Smoker and partly by the quality of the performance. In the 1956-7 academic year, the show was exceptionally well-performed and presented, and the players were allowed to proceed more or less unhindered. In 1957-8 the performance of the freshers was thought to be poor by the senior men present; the result was that the players were bombarded with fruit from beginning to end

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of the performance and each act was almost shouted down before its merits could be judged.

The Smoker is a dying institution. Some ten years ago and less, if the senior men were displeased with the performance of the freshers, violent results would ensue. Bands of senior students would roam around the huts, seeking out freshers, 'debagging' them, soaking them with water, sometimes smashing their doors if they were locked and many a fresher on that night would be seized and thrown into the large open water tank which then existed.

The Smoker appears to fulfil similar functions to the trial; the inferiority of status of the new men is emphasized by forcing them to give a show before the more senior members of the Hall, and by the 'debagging,' 'ducking' and similar humiliation of freshers after the show. During the performance freshers are required to serve the senior men with their drinks and the fresher is inviting disaster who brings the wrong ones, or spills a senior man's beer.

If a person becomes unpopular with some other members of the Hall, or if he openly invites reprobation by showing a disregard for the privileges of senior men, he may be punished in another way. The most common practice is to strip a person's room bare of all his furniture while he is away at the university for the day and leave them scattered in the open air. On his return the individual is forced to search over the grounds to locate his furniture and must then try to find someone to help him return his furniture to his room. The more unpopular he has made himself, the less likely he is to find helpers and the greater the difficulty with which he is faced. If a man is treated in this way by having to search round for his belongings and recruit helpers, he makes public the fact that he has been 'ragged' and this, to a certain extent, makes him a figure of ridicule.

Lastly, of course, sanctions are held by the Warden, the ultimate one being expulsion from the Hall. Several years ago every first-year student in the university was obliged to reside in a Hall of Residence. Today, with the greatly increased influx of students, there are not nearly sufficient places for this to be done; consequently a once ineffectual sanction has now become a more powerful one.

The physical change from the huts to the permanent brick building has had definite effects upon the social structure of the Hall. The principal effect has been to diminish the status differential between freshers and senior students and to increase the interaction

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between individuals of these groups. The lessening of physical separateness, simply, has led to decreased social separateness. Under the conditions where the senior students lived in the new building and the freshers occupied the huts, a fairly strict physical separation inevitably applied. Usually, senior students only came into contact with freshers at dinner and here, as has been described above, a strict and complete segregation in seating arrangements has prevailed. Thus the freshers formed a more compact group than they do today; they tended to associate mostly with each other, usually with people in the huts adjacent to their own. In the new building, freshers normally occupy the ground floors of the blocks, while senior students live on the two higher floors. As has been mentioned, the ground and first floor occupants both use the kitchen on the second floor and under these conditions interaction between the two groups occurs.

In the course of the day, freshers come much more often into contact with the senior men from their own block and from other blocks. When a fresher makes friends with a senior man in his own block he naturally tends to meet other acquaintances of the latter who will usually themselves be seniors. In this way interaction between freshers and seniors becomes much more normal and common-place. It has been found in several studies that antagonistic or unfavourable stereotypes or prejudices tend to disappear when individuals are brought into close day-to-day and personal contact with those against whom they were once prejudiced. It is suggested that a very similar mechanism is operating here, i.e. that close day-to-day contact brought about through increased physical proximity between freshers and seniors has resulted in the lessening of the status and privilege distinctions which used to prevail between the two categories of individuals.

As consequences of this process, or perhaps more correctly as symptoms or manifestations of this process, various changes have taken and are taking place in the structure of certain of the institutions of the Hall. The Smoker today is a diluted survival of its earlier form; freshers now escape relatively easily and sometimes (as in 1956) finish Smoker night without any ragging at all. It is noticeable that trials are less frequent and that penalties are less severe than they used to be even three or four years ago. Recently it has become a practice of the Warden to assign freshers to the same floors as second and even third-year men; this is but another symptom of the

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general movement toward the bridging of the status gap between fresher and senior.

Another important result of the movement from the huts to the new brick building has been an increase in the control of the Warden over the activities of students resident in the Hall. Several years ago, when all first-year students had to live in a Hall of Residence, they were able to behave in a manner which would result in their expulsion today, but which in those days would bring them at most a reprimand from the Warden. However, over and above this, the Hall today is physically a more compact unit than it used to be when it was composed solely of the huts and brick blocks. In all the other Halls of Residence, students have always been required to return each evening at a specified time (usually 11-15 p.m.); here, on the other hand, it was impossible for the Warden to enforce such a ruling. There were no walls around the Hall and to shut out anyone who returned late was impossible. Thus the residents had long been accustomed to returning at any time they wished in the early hours of the morning. The new building is walled and it is possible to lock the gates. The fact that the brick blocks are still occupied seems to be the only reason why the Warden has not yet attempted to shut out people who return after a certain hour. Moreover, if the scheme to modify the brick blocks is put through and they are then occupied solely by third-year students, there seems to be little doubt that the Warden will lock late-returns out of the new building. The students have determined to resist this, but if the Warden does enforce hours there seems very little they can do about it.

In the huts groups of students were more or less isolated and it was impossible for the Warden to maintain any sort of supervision over them other than a very superficial one. In the new building, however, the Warden is able to keep a far more effective eye on the activities of Hall members; besides this, living in a new building, students must perforce take more care than they used to in the Nissen huts. While marking the walls often passed unnoticed in the huts, in the new building it would be a far more serious affair and would soon come to the notice of the Warden. Thus the ragging which occurs today is rather more subdued than formerly and when any incidents occur the Warden attempts to ensure that they are not repeated by issuing notices warning students against doing any further damage. The fact that these warnings are effective is in itself evidence of the Warden's increased control over the activities of the

students within the Hall.

Work.

In a cohesive community such as the Hall of Residence common values develop which are to some extent independent of those of the wider societal sphere. For example, a student may approve of a 'rag' during which some students paint a statue red; but ten years later when he is an accountant, he may condemn a similar student activity as 'outrageous' or something of the sort. Newcomb has shown how students at a small women's college in the United States tend on coming to college to adjust their values in the direction of the prevailing attitudes of those already there.⁹ One interesting and, from the practical point of view, important aspect of students' attitudes in this Hall of Residence was the value given to work.

The common attitude towards work is one of general disparagement and disapprobation. When students return from a vacation the question they usually ask others is 'How much work did you do over the vacation?' The invariable reply is 'I just didn't seem to get around to doing any,' or the question is laughingly dismissed—'Work? I don't work while I'm on holiday!' In term-time, when a student appears to be working harder than most, he becomes the butt of such semi-jocular statements as 'I see we've got a serious student here,' or, more contemptuously, 'Keen, isn't he!' The intention, whether conscious or not, seems to be to enforce a certain norm of amount of work as against amount of leisure upon a minority who wish to work harder. In consequence, some students disguise the actual amount of study they do, or disclaim that they do any work in the vacations when in fact they do work quite hard at their studies.

Many students are thus placed in an ambivalent position, caught between two conflicting forces. On the one hand they have their teachers, the professors and lecturers, who try to impress upon them that they have come to the University to study and that they must work hard if they are to gain a degree; students also often feel obligations towards their parents who expect them to return home with letters after their names. On the other hand they are subjected to the more intimate pressures of the informally worked-out norms of the Hall. Consequently, a student may spend three hours having supper with his friends and feel so guilty that he wasted his time that he may work until the early hours of the morning.

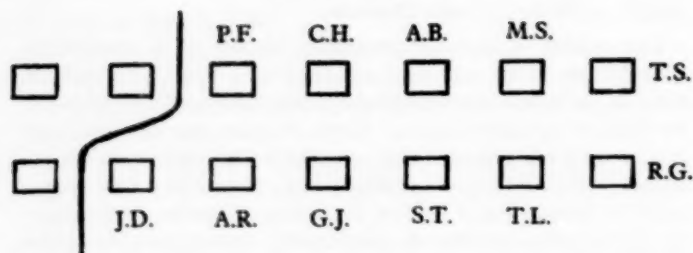
Aspects of the Social Structure of a University Hall of Residence
Aspects of Primary Group Structure.

This section is included principally because of a resemblance noticed between the structural dynamics of a Hall clique and the Nortons, an Italian street-corner gang described by W. F. Whyte in his book *Street Corner Society*.⁴ Whyte describes how the men in the gang went bowling at least once a week; the bowling records of the season 1937-38, he goes on to demonstrate, show a very close correspondence between social position in the gang to bowling performance. The scores were distributed hierarchically according to the status positions of the group; those with the highest status scored highest in the bowling and those with lower status scored correspondingly lower. The reason for this, says Whyte, is to be found in the fact that bowling became the primary activity of the group and the main vehicle by which the individual could gain, maintain or lose prestige.

The Hall group centred around the dinner-table. Five members of the group were also members of a block clique but the other five members were from different blocks. Although somewhat inappropriate here, we might say with Whyte that 'dining' was the primary social activity of the group, in that it had no function as a corporate entity outside the dining-hall. Five of the individuals concerned belonged to the same physics class but beyond this the first formation of the dining group seems to have been largely fortuitous.

There is a hierarchical correspondence between group status and position at the dinner-table. This can be illustrated by reference to the plan below, showing the normal seats at dinner taken by members of the group, all of whom were in the second year. It should be emphasized that a second-year man may sit anywhere at any of the three allotted second-year tables, each of which holds eighteen places. However, sometime during the first term of the academic year a recognized seating pattern emerges, whereby people tend to sit in more or less the same seat every night. The seating pattern never remains completely constant because every night there are a larger or smaller number of individuals who take their dinner in the refectory at the university.

Anthony Giddens



T.S., R.G., M.S., and T.L. were the individuals with the highest status in the group. Their dominance of the group is indicated by the fact that most topics of conversation started at their end of the table and that the individuals further down, e.g. J.D., P.F. or A.R., rather than talking among themselves would listen to the conversation of those nearer the head of the table and try to intersperse their own comments. Plates of food are served at the head of the table and passed down from hand to hand; a way of obtaining more is to hide plates of food and thus obtain extra helpings. Initiative in activities of this sort always came from those at the head of the table; those further down, J.D., P.F. etc., would often co-operate in hiding plates in this way, but they never initiated the activities themselves. P.F. and J.D. had the lowest status in the group. They were the butt of many of the jokes of the other members of the group. A frequent activity at the dinner-table, especially of R.G. and M.S., was to 'take the mickey' out of P.F. and, more often J.D. But although the latter two were free to sit at another table if they wished, they continued to remain members of the group.

London.

¹ An example of Malinowski's 'Mythical Charter'? See *A Scientific Theory of Culture and other Essays*, Chapel Hill, 1944, p. 111.

² Following Merton's distinction; R. K. Merton: 'Manifest and Latent Functions,' *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957.

³ T. Newcomb: *Personality and Social Change: Attitude Formation in a Student Community*, New York, 1943.

⁴ W. F. Whyte: *Street Corner Society; the Social Structure of an Italian Shon*, University of Chicago Press, 1955.

RESEARCH REPORT No. 1

Department of Social Science,
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W. H. Scott and J. B. Mays

Introductory.

This report is a brief résumé of Departmental research work both past and present. Its purpose therefore is primarily informational. In a fairly new and growing field, there is a particular need for interchange of information and ideas, especially about ongoing work, and for the strengthening of all possible means to this end.

The post-war team research of the Department dates from the Clapham Award of 1947. Most of the additional funds made available were devoted to the creation of a number of research posts, similar to the corresponding teaching appointments. As originally established, the research posts were somewhat inferior as regards status and tenure to the parallel teaching jobs, but recent changes have eliminated these differences. The word 'research' has been retained in the titles (e.g., 'Research Lecturer'), and appointees are required to devote most of their time to research, but otherwise the conditions of appointment, from Research Lecturer upwards, are now identical with those of the equivalent teaching posts. Having regard to the heavy demands we have had to meet for teaching during the post-war years, it is our belief that this specific provision for research, on an established basis, alone has made possible the completion of substantial researches; and that the recent changes will consolidate this advantage as other pressures increase in the near future. The research posts now provide the same rewards as University teaching posts, and some opportunities for teaching, but far more substantial facilities for research than those enjoyed by the overwhelming majority of University teachers, especially in the social sciences.

Both the staff and funds available from the University for research have been supplemented over the years by grants from outside sources. For the past ten years assistance has been obtained regularly from D.S.I.R. and, until fairly recently, from the Nuffield Foundation, and other grants for shorter periods from other sources have also been forthcoming. The University provision, together with this additional support, maintains a staff of a dozen or more engaged primarily in research. The two main areas of research have been, and continue to be, industrial organisation and community studies, with the former predominating. These are each discussed below.

General Characteristics.

Certain features have characterised almost all of the Department's researches. They have been empirical in the sense that they have involved original and direct investigation of phenomena, and they have been 'problem-centred'; the latter term implies that, whatever other purposes the researches may be designed to serve, they have been pursued in ways, and in situations, which were thought likely to make the results of some practical relevance in the fairly short term. The view has been taken that, at least in the present state of knowledge, there is no necessary conflict in seeking to advance both 'fundamental' or theoretical and 'problem-centred' or practical aims in the same researches: rather, if projects are designed appropriately, the two can, and indeed must, be mutually supportive. Thus 'basic research in problem areas' has tended to become one of our slogans, in the belief that if problems of practical concern are investigated as thoroughly as existing theory and techniques allow, then the achievement of both theoretical and practical goals will be advanced.¹

The units of analysis have been the organisation (and the relations between organisations, in industrial studies) and the local community, or, in other words, structures which are intermediate between the society as a whole and its primary groups. Whilst the latter have not been neglected entirely, and whilst we have sought to relate our results to those emerging from what may be termed macrocosmic and microcosmic researches, selection is essential in empirical work and we have opted hitherto for the mean between the two extremes: the organisation and the local community. It is perhaps in these areas that least systematic work has been undertaken in sociology in this country in the past, yet it may be that these 'intermediate' levels are of particular significance for under-

standing behaviour.

Within these areas, the studies have been intensive; that is, they have concentrated available resources on a detailed analysis of a particular organisation or community, rather than attempted to achieve a wider coverage of a necessarily much more restricted range of phenomena, although, as will be seen below, this preoccupation is beginning to change. The framework of analysis employed has of course varied in detail from study to study; but in principle the endeavour has been made to find a middle way between the propensity to 'study everything'—which of course is futile from a sociological point of view, even in intensive studies— and a too narrow, and usually equally sterile, preoccupation with one or two variables. Overall, most of these emphases—empirical, 'intermediate' analysis, intensive studies and a fairly broad framework of analysis—stem from two considerations. Our systematic knowledge is still extremely limited, yet the interrelations of the social data which confront us are complex. In these circumstances, intensive studies with a not-too-rigid analytical framework are essential, if the significant variables, and their interrelations, are to be defined.

One final general point should perhaps be mentioned. We have always acted on the assumption that a project should not proceed unless there is an understanding and acceptance of its aims on the part of the 'subjects' involved. This is not only a moral issue, but also in our experience a pragmatic necessity, at least in the long run. If people understand and endorse a project, they are likely to co-operate more fully; more importantly, one of the main assets of a University in research is its independence, and this is best safeguarded if *all* the main parties endorse a project which may involve or affect them. On the other hand, it cannot be overemphasised that this collaborative approach, in relation to the aims of a project, should not extend to the point where deliberate efforts are made to promote change whilst the analysis is proceeding. Analysis and change should be consecutive, not concurrent (except insofar as the latter emerges automatically and unavoidably out of the former), and the researcher should therefore seek to minimise his impact on the situation whilst the analysis proceeds. This is often difficult enough, but a conscious attempt to mix the two is mere consultancy, and not independent research. The best basis for the discussion of change is surely a thorough analysis, undertaken without other pre-occupations until its completion.

Industrial Studies.

The first two major industrial studies focussed on the operation of joint consultation in manufacturing firms and the Dock Labour Scheme in a large port respectively.^{2,3} They sought to interpret behaviour in connection with these administrative experiments in the light of an analysis of the formal and informal aspects of social structure and of the traditional elements associated with it.

The next study examined the relations between social structure and technical change over a lengthy period of the history of a large steel firm, and included an intensive study of the most recent change.⁴ In this study, although the earlier approach was continued with some refinements, fuller attention was given to the nature and implications of occupational structure. Moreover, a more systematic attempt was made to describe the historical evolution, not only of occupational structure, but also of other crucial aspects such as ownership and control and the managerial organisation. A substantial appendix to the report of this study contained a discussion of the framework of analysis which had been developing in industrial research and which was stated more precisely for use in the steel study.⁵ This project also led to the publication of reports on the group interview technique⁶ and on the impact of continuous shiftwork on family life.⁷

A more recent project has pursued further some of the relations between the social and technical aspects of organisation in a plant producing edible oils. It has been possible to compare mills operating by conventional methods with those employing a new semi-automatic chemical extraction process. This project is nearing completion and a report is expected soon.

As the important aspects of social structure, and some of the relations between them, have been identified rather more precisely through intensive studies of particular organisations, the need has emerged to give further studies greater 'breadth,' for example by investigating a small number of organisations on a comparative basis. Thus, another recent study, in the coal industry, has been undertaken at several pits; the relations between the various occupational groups have again been emphasised, and an endeavour made to assess their relative morale, and to account for the differences found; the functioning of the formal machinery of industrial relations has been analysed and the results compared with the assessment of the problems of, and relations between, different occupational

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groups. A report on this project, which was assisted by the National Coal Board with the approval of the Unions, is also nearing completion.

The endeavour to develop intensive studies on a more comparative basis during recent years has also been extended to other countries. The Department took a leading part in the establishment, in 1953, of the International Committee for Social Research in Industry which, in addition to Liverpool, represents research institutes in France, Holland, West Germany, Sweden, Belgium, and Finland, and whose work has been facilitated by the European Productivity Agency of the O.E.E.C. The Committee's function is to plan and to co-ordinate the execution of comparable researches in the various countries. Its first project was inspired by the Department's study in the steel industry, quoted above, and consisted of a more precise analysis, and interpretation, of the attitudes to technical change of steelworkers in a large firm in each of the countries. A summary report on this project as a whole has been published,⁸ and the Liverpool study has also appeared recently.⁹ A second comparative study has now been agreed, and fieldwork has commenced in the member countries, with the exception of Belgium and Finland, which are as yet unable to take part. This study is concerned with the social aspects of developments towards automation in offices, both commercial and industrial.

Although we are convinced that substantial and intensive field studies remain a high priority in sociological research, the need for systematisation clearly increases as these studies grow in number throughout the country. Increasing attention to systematisation is essential if an organised body of knowledge is to emerge and if future research priorities are to be established effectively. Some steps in this direction have already been taken, and it is intended to undertake more during the next few years. A short review of work relevant to 'industry democracy' and to 'workers' participation' was published some years ago.¹⁰ More recently, endeavours have been made to systematise the available data relating to the social aspects of technical change¹¹ and to the structure and policies of management in this country.¹²

Community Studies.

In the early years attention was directed to studying the social relationships of residents of a new housing estate, and of the

problems of relationship and adjustment that they experienced in unfamiliar surroundings. This study, published in 1954, together with a similar investigation carried out by the Sheffield University Department of Social Studies,¹³ naturally enough led to a consideration of the social needs and conditions of the old urban areas from which new housing estates mainly draw their population. Accordingly, a portion of the decayed residential centre of Liverpool, comprising roughly two electoral wards and a population of some 40,000, was selected for study from a variety of complementary viewpoints. In its initial stages this enquiry involved a broad survey of the physical conditions of the area, the use of land, the age and type of property and other items relevant to an understanding of the general environment. A sample of over five hundred households was drawn up from electoral registers and the heads of these households were visited and asked to supply answers to an extensive questionnaire. Particular attention at this stage of the research was paid to the socio-economic ranking of the local residents, to their participation in social and church activities, the extent of residential mobility, and to their views about the locality, their opinion of their homes and their desire to move elsewhere. Interim results of this first part of the enquiry were published in an article in this journal;¹⁴ the final and fuller account is now in press and will be published later this year.¹⁵ It is, of course, impossible to deal with the details of this research in an article of this nature, but perhaps two of the main findings may be baldly stated. They are simply that a substantial proportion of the residents wished to remain more or less where they were and that desire to move out of the survey area seemed more an aspect of social aspiration than a criticism of existing housing conditions. Residents from the more 'mixed' and disordered part of the survey area were, on the whole, content to remain locally while those from the more stable and 'respectable' part, many of whom were owners of their own homes, evinced the keenest desire to move.

This preliminary survey of a decayed inner residential area has been succeeded by attempts to study the institutional life of the district and, by a variety of means, to 'get below its social crust.' Two main fields of enquiry have so far been attempted; the first, an investigation into the operation of the local schools is now completed and will be published, probably in the early part of

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1961.¹⁶ In this volume the whole question of the relationship between a school and both the local and wider community is discussed in terms of the contribution that formal education may make to the promotion of planned social change. An examination of the subcultural influences conditioning the work of the schools has been essayed, and pinpointed as one of the main sources of obstruction to the development of that educational egalitarianism implicit in the 1944 Education Act. The second main field of enquiry relates to the ways in which young people spend their leisure time. This part of the enquiry has involved meeting and questioning adolescents living in the survey area and an examination of the formal Youth Service organisations and of the commercial and informal groups that abound.

Side by side with these more general community reports, the Department has undertaken several studies of specific institutions and problems. The Rev. Conor Ward has examined the social structure of a Roman Catholic parish with special reference to the viability of the old parochial ideal within the complex setting of a modern urban community. The preliminary report on this work was published in an article in this journal.¹⁷ The final results will be published this year in a book.¹⁸

Two enquiries in the field of juvenile delinquency have also been published during the past six years. The first of these¹⁹ was concerned with establishing the hypothesis that delinquent behaviour is, in some of its aspects, a normal phase in the lives of urban boys living in the older, more deteriorated urban neighbourhoods, and is to be thought of more as a function of their desire for social conformity than as a serious moral or psychological disorder. This analysis was later followed up in a more recent report,²⁰ in which the same author studied the operation of special group work and casework techniques in an attempt to control and modify the delinquent activities of a sample of children living in the same social environment. The outcome of this research once again seemed to demonstrate that what may be called socially-induced or 'benign' delinquency may be helped by more or less simple social measures whereas more severe manifestations of lawless behaviour, since they arise from entirely dissimilar causes, require specialised and possibly institutional treatment.

It is hardly necessary to point out that these various community

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investigations are more exploratory than definitive in character. They represent the beginning rather than the consummation of a research programme. But combining as they do the more formal and statistical procedures with personal observation, it is believed that they will, if continued and extended over an ever widening field of social experience, make a contribution to the development of urban sociology in Great Britain.

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¹ See W. H. Scott: 'The Aims of Industrial Sociology—Some Reflections,' *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. X, No. 3, 1959, pp. 193-203.

² W. H. Scott: *Industrial Leadership and Joint Consultation*, Liverpool University Press, 1952.

³ Department of Social Science: *The Dockworker*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1954.

⁴ W. H. Scott, J. A. Banks, et al.: *Technical Change and Industrial Relations*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1956.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Appendix A, pp. 263-281.

⁶ J. A. Banks: 'The Group Discussion as an Interview Technique,' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1957, pp. 75-84.

⁷ Olive Banks: 'Continuous Shiftwork; the Attitudes of Wives,' *Occupational Psychology*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 1956, pp. 69-84.

⁸ Olive Banks: *Steel Workers and Technical Progress*, European Productivity Agency of O.E.E.C., 1959.

⁹ Olive Banks: *The Attitudes of Steel Workers to Technical Change*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1960.

¹⁰ W. H. Scott: *Industrial Democracy—a Revaluation*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1955.

¹¹ J. A. Banks: 'Social Implications of Technological Change,' *Proceedings of Round-Table Conference*, International Social Science Council, Paris, 1959.

¹² I. McGivering, D. Matthews and W. H. Scott: *Management in Britain—a General Characterisation*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1960.

¹³ Universities of Liverpool and Sheffield: *Neighbourhood and Community—Social Relationships on Housing Estates*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1954.

¹⁴ J. B. Mays: 'Cultural Conformity in Urban Areas—an Introduction to the Crown Street Study in Liverpool,' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1958, pp. 95-108.

¹⁵ C. H. Vereker and J. B. Mays: *Urban Redevelopment and Social Change*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1960.

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¹⁶ J. B. Mays: *Education and the Urban Child*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1961.

¹⁷ Conor Ward: 'Some Aspects of the Social Structure of a Roman Catholic Parish,' *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1958.

¹⁸ Conor Ward: *Priests and People*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1960.

¹⁹ J. B. Mays: *Growing Up in the City*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1954.

²⁰ J. B. Mays: *On the Threshold of Delinquency*, Liverpool Univ. Press, 1959.

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that the study of the history of the United States is essential for a full understanding of the country and its people. The paper then discusses the various methods used by historians to study the past, including the use of primary and secondary sources, and the importance of critical thinking in the study of history.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the role of the federal government in the development of the United States. It is argued that the federal government has played a central role in the development of the country, and that its actions have shaped the course of American history. The paper then discusses the various policies and programs of the federal government, and the impact of these policies and programs on the country and its people.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the role of the states in the development of the United States. It is argued that the states have played a central role in the development of the country, and that their actions have shaped the course of American history. The paper then discusses the various policies and programs of the states, and the impact of these policies and programs on the country and its people.

4. The fourth part of the paper discusses the role of the courts in the development of the United States. It is argued that the courts have played a central role in the development of the country, and that their actions have shaped the course of American history. The paper then discusses the various policies and programs of the courts, and the impact of these policies and programs on the country and its people.

5. The fifth part of the paper discusses the role of the people in the development of the United States. It is argued that the people have played a central role in the development of the country, and that their actions have shaped the course of American history. The paper then discusses the various policies and programs of the people, and the impact of these policies and programs on the country and its people.

UNCONFORMITY IN THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY*

Roger Wilson

One of the tragedies of British social history is that Octavia Hill and Beatrice Webb never learnt anything from each other. For Octavia Hill was right in recognizing that social reform—as, for instance, in the availability of decent housing and of generous open spaces—would go a long way to solving some social problems but would not abolish the need to give infinite care to the individual difficulties of some citizens. On the other hand she refused to recognize that massive social reform must become primarily a public responsibility. For her part Beatrice Webb grasped the necessity of social reform being a public responsibility on two counts—the scale and nature of the operation, and the need to remove the affront to the dignity of the wage-earner in being dependent on the good-will of the socially successful. But Beatrice Webb never seemed to realize that, systematize civilized provision as a community may, there are always likely to be those who cannot or will not conform and that the nature and response to their unconformity must be approached first at the individual level.

Beatrice Webb was on the sounder ground in relation to the need to be met then and for the first half of the century. The hazards and misery of the weekly wage-earner cried out for competent social administration at the general level. General answers to avoidable physical inadequacy had to be found and the Poor Law tradition of moral aspersions had to be broken. The Labour Party carried the weight of the campaign, particularly at the local government level, where men of little material wealth, supported by no national fame or glamour, and encompassed with dislike, hatred, patronage and neglect, fought with courage and with vision to get the issues recognized and the necessary services developed. But the Labour Party invested so much of its emotional capital in the need for general remedies that it has never managed to get its mind constructively round to the problem of those who fail to conform to respectable

* A review of Barbara Wootton: *Social Science and Social Pathology*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1959.

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sociability by reason of personal rather than social factors. Probably because of the Poor Law tradition which it rightly and properly hated, the Labour Party has shied away from action which has involved estimating individual attitudes and motivations. In consequence, it is weak in perceiving, let alone answering, the challenge of personal unconformity in an affluent society.

It must, I think, be because she shares this tradition that Barbara Wootton is so shrill in the attack on some aspects of social work which rattles through that irritating, disturbing, important, confused and, in some ways, silly book, *Social Science and Social Pathology*. As a magistrate, she sees any number of delinquents for whose behaviour nobody has yet found any convincing general explanations. As a humane person who dislikes punishment and would always rather help than hurt, she is perplexed by the limitations of the ways in which society can respond to unconformity. I suspect that she sees criminals as perplexed and lost souls, but her own commitment to general sociological factors is so deep rooted and her dislike for personal enquiry and consideration so strong that she can find no way in to responding to their needs. Her sections on social work read to me as if she felt dreadfully lost in a situation where, though the discipline of the psychologist offers an element of hope, yet this is a discipline to which Barbara Wootton is, emotionally, utterly allergic.

The situation is the more frustrating because at this juncture it is doubtful if the sociologists have got much to say with regard to unconformity. There may be an important line in Titmuss' analysis of the concealed inequalities of our society and the tensions these set up. But in an affluent society, the reforms of the sociologist are at best marginal.¹ The problems that hurl themselves at the magistrate and the social worker are not sociological ones, but problems of relationships; problems turning on the inability of individuals effectively to handle choice in a society rich enough to face them with more choices than their native abilities or inherited culture patterns have given them the skill to deal with. It is the social workers with skills based on psychological disciplines who seem to have some confidence that they have an effective line of approach to this sort of misery and delinquency. This is what Barbara Wootton cannot stand and she lays about her in a way that seems to lack discrimination.

For instance she makes a most curious mistake about Rowntree,

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whose research objective and methods in his investigations of poverty were fully up to what Barbara Wootton requires—entirely sociological and remarkably free of value judgments. He admirably fulfilled her recipe for social research by asking 'Who?' rather than 'Why?' and so obtaining causal clues. Yet on p. 80, she writes ' . . . poverty is itself a slippery concept. The Rowntree and other similar standards define poverty in terms of the minimum sums upon which other people ought to be able to live.' Rowntree did no such thing. More than 60 years ago he knew just how slippery poverty was and he was the more determined to allow nobody to slide away from the problem of poverty by reliance on its slipperiness. He therefore worked out a scale, based on a complex of detailed scientific data, on which it would be theoretically possible for a very intelligent and economically minded person to obtain just physiologically adequate food and clothing; he used this, not as a standard upon which people ought to live, but as the basis for showing just how many of his fellow-citizens there were who lacked income even at that level. ' . . . our poverty line is a stringent one and itself represents, as we fully recognize, a standard of living that is a good deal below what is desirable . . . ' His standard was not designed for other people to live on but inescapably to prod the complacency of those who recognized no issue. And having demonstrated who was poor by this criterion, he made it clear that mass poverty had its roots, not in moral failure, but in the inadequacy of wages to support a family with children, in the ill-fortune of unemployment and in survival beyond working age. One would have thought that Barbara Wootton would have understood and appreciated the care Rowntree took to remain on firm physiological ground. The only explanation I can think of is that she feels so strongly about philanthropic industrialists in general that she jumps to conclusions about particular ones. It is more difficult to see why she should have failed to see how misleading would be her use of Donnison's critical comment² on a current tendency among professional case-workers in America.

At other points, Barbara Wootton expresses her emotions quite crudely. On p. 17 she writes: 'Over large areas the psychiatrist . . . has now usurped the place once occupied by the social reformer and the administrator, if not indeed the judge.' *Usurped* is a word carrying a considerable connotation of force or fraud, and one would expect a social scientist to marshal a good deal more evidence than is here available before using it. Barbara Wootton begins her critique

of an important trend in the thinking of influential professional case-workers with some remarkably tendentious sentences.⁴ 'According to the 1951 Census there are now some 22,000 social workers in England and Wales—that is to say, slightly more than one social worker to every two barmen or barmaids. In the struggle against social pathology it is these workers who largely constitute the first line of defence (or perhaps one should say of attack); and their attitudes and theories are, accordingly, of crucial importance in the present context.' No further reference is made to those who work behind the bar and one wonders just why they are introduced at all. I also find myself surprised at the unanalysed assumption that the 22,000 have attitudes and theories in common. They presumably include a considerable number of people like Red Cross officers, British Legion and S.S.A.F.A. staff, a good many local authority welfare staff and possibly N.A.B. staff who are as innocent of theories as 'the humble welfare assistant, with the delightful personality and easy way of getting on with people' whose existence Lady Wootton welcomed in the House of Lords.⁵ The 22,000 presumably also include large numbers of club workers, industrial welfare workers, and probation officers who have never been concerned with poverty as such, though they may have had a training which has given them theories. Many of the 22,000 must be doing now very much what they or their predecessors have been doing for the last twenty years—though perhaps with developed skill. Yet two pages later, and without at any point having analysed the training, functions or theoretical bases comprised within the group, Barbara Wootton goes on '... it is certainly true that social workers no longer⁶ see themselves as primarily dispensers of charity, and that it is not the poverty of the poor in which they are chiefly interested. Believing themselves, rightly or wrongly, to have been deprived of one function, they have lost no time in inventing another.'

This seems to me to cast a serious aspersion on the personal integrity of a lot of people who are doing exactly what they have always done, and I do not believe that Barbara Wootton means this. But it is a sweeping statement which typifies much of her argument in the chapter on *Contemporary Attitudes in Social Work* and it arouses doubt about the value of her references to published work of which she disapproves. What I believe she means to criticize are the attitudes and theories of the relatively few academically trained social workers, and of their academic teachers, who more or less con-

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sciously base the personal help they offer on the principles underlying psychoanalysis or psychiatry. The majority of the highly trained and thoughtful social workers—the ones with theories—are in branches of social work where the giving of material relief does not arise, and never did—the probation service, the child-care service, the child-guidance clinics, the mental health services. The almoners do have a rather more ambiguous rôle because, so far as we know at present, the reasons why people go to hospital are medical rather than psychological. But the burden of her complaint is that social workers—presumably family case-workers—lose sight of overt material need in digging for impaired relationships; making no distinction among social workers generally or among case-workers in particular, she implies that the whole lot are wasting their time or, worse, satisfying their own itch to ‘dabble their fingers self-approvingly in the stuff of others’ souls.’

Barbara Wootton is scathing about most aspects of the efforts of the more highly trained case-workers.⁷ She considers that it is presumptuous of the case-worker to act on the belief that she may be able to understand those with whom she deals better than they understand themselves and suggests that marriage is the royal road to knowledge and understanding. One would have thought that work in the courts would have made it plain that this cannot be taken for granted and that where knowledge and understanding have not grown in marriage there is undoubtedly a function for an outsider with a disciplined eye to help those in trouble to understand their situation. What is a candid friend but one who sees what is not obvious to the person himself? What is wrong with trying to systematize this sort of ability? Barbara Wootton professes to think that ‘acceptance’ which is neither tolerance nor intolerance is obscure nonsense. One would have thought that it was a common enough experience in robust family life with adolescents about the place. Certainly the good class teacher knows all about it quite unself-consciously. Barbara Wootton is cutting about the worker-client ‘relationship’ which she regards as bogus mysticism. She simplifies the working kit of the social worker to ‘good manners, ability and willingness to listen, and efficient methods of record keeping.’ It has the lucid ring of Jane Austen, but I doubt if Barbara Wootton’s tongue is in her cheek. The first and third of these elements are less simple than they look, but the middle one is full of ambiguity; just as it is possible to look without seeing, so it is easy to listen without hearing. To be able to hear is the first qualification for being able to

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help the socially distressed—to be able to understand without being told.

No useful purpose is to be served by prolonging—as would be easy—the list of Barbara Wootton's massive misunderstanding of what other people are trying to say or do. One can but regret that she should lend her weight to the obscurantism of those who rely on uncritical kindness and intuition; an obscurantism which is in no way diminished by an amusing counter-selection of very old and new quotations from largely American sources. I think rather well of the British quotations, for my part.

What is troubling is the naiveté of Barbara Wootton's own positive proposals. Writing with warm approval of the Assistance Board's view that typical cases of economic need require a helpful disposition and common sense but no profound understanding—which is surely true—she adds the Board's comment that the recipients of assistance include 'a proportion of people who need a watchful eye kept over them.'⁸ She regards these as predominantly in need of information and states her own view of the proper professional function of social workers in these terms: 'to learn all that needs to be learned about the Health Services, the Education Acts, the allocation of houseroom by local authorities or the facilities offered by the local Children's Committees. The service rendered by those who are masters of all this and much more beside, and who can mobilise these facilities intelligently and efficiently to suit the requirements of particular individuals, is both skilled and honourable.'⁹ 'Tell them,' says Barbara Wootton, in fact. And the experience of the Citizens Advice Bureaux shows what a valuable service there is to be rendered by social workers who possess just this skill. Would that there were more of them and that local authorities were more ready to finance them generously on a basis which kept them clear of being suspected by their clients of being but another part of the 'establishment.'

But it is plain simple-mindedness to think that this disposes of the job. You cannot sit in a C.A.B. for long, hearing as well as listening, without realizing that some people do want more than information and a route map. And you cannot spend time closely associated with delinquency and perplexing social misfits without realizing that there are lots of people who have been given information and directions until they are raw with perplexity and resentment. Certainly all social workers should be well-informed and non-possessive, but there is a considerable number of really difficult cases who, before they can

Unconformity in the Affluent Society

begin to understand what services to use and how to use them, need help to perceive and understand the nature of their difficulties. This is the old problem of communication, the establishment of which is, in a good many instances, the most difficult facet of social work. Barbara Wootton's proposal rests on the assumption that distressed citizens are rational but ill-informed on a superficial level. Many may be, but in an affluent society there is less and less reason why they should be ill-informed at the superficial level and more and more reason why, where the perplexity is substantial, help should be available based on psychological insight.

Shifting the focus of the discussion for the moment, the assumption that what distressed people need is information has a bearing on the problem of responsibility. Barbara Wootton's line on this is well-enough known—that the psychological explanation of personal behaviour undermines the work of the courts, which assume responsibility. If it is possible to think that delinquents misbehave because they are wilfully ill-informed or do not behave sensibly when they could, the concept of responsibility is saved. This is a comfort to those who want a logical basis for their work on the bench as traditionally interpreted. The public reports of her Cambridge lecture and the subsequent correspondence leave it unclear whether Barbara Wootton wants to save the doctrine of responsibility or not. If she does, her proposals for social work are logical. But they do not meet the human situation.

While Barbara Wootton's criticism seems to me to leave unshaken the general proposition that, in an affluent society, the response to unconformity—acceptable and unacceptable—must be sought in terms of ideas rather than material things, there are three challenges which she throws out to psychiatrically inclined social workers that must be taken very seriously.

The first is whether they have an adequate sense of humour. Are they prepared to use plain language where possible? Are they prepared to admit that they may be wrong in particular or detail while remaining firm on the validity of their principles? Are they prepared to admit that natural insight, akin to that of the novelist or the parent, sometimes gets further than disciplined analysis, without giving up the conviction that to rely on obscurantism is impossible?

The second challenge turns on the question whether case-workers give enough weight to the casual accident as compared with the traumatic experience '... the picture of the typical delinquent that

emerges from contemporary investigations is curiously flat. Such a delinquent is found to come from a particular kind of home in a particular locality, and his relations with his parents are recorded as being of such and such a nature. In due course he goes to school where he does well or badly, and in due course again he leaves school, and goes to work. The nature and the number of his jobs are duly noted, as are also the ways in which he spends his leisure—whether in the cinema or the pub, in bird-watching or in art-classes; and details may be added as to his health, his bodily make-up and the way in which his personality strikes a psychiatrist.

But nothing ever happens to him. He never gets discouraged at school because the class is too large or the teacher idle or incompetent; he never . . . suffers bitter loneliness by being cut off from all his school friends because his father's job has necessitated removal from Glasgow to Plymouth. Ideas are not put into his head by glamorously rebellious types with whom he rubs shoulders at work. He is never turned down by a girl or made miserable by a bullying foreman; and he never enjoys a run of luck on the pools, or gets his head turned because everyone falls for his good looks.

Yet all these things and a million more . . . do happen to people and do help to shape their lives and their behaviour. In the typical delinquency study such occurrences pass unrecorded; and what we get instead represents the framework of a life rather than a life itself.⁷¹⁰

This is well said. It is not true of most case notes that I have seen; and precisely because the accidents matter, the claim for psychologically based case-work is strong, for why does the same accident, e.g. the bad school-teacher, leave forty-four undamaged and one broken? Moreover Barbara Wootton's statement burks the difficult question of the difference, if any, between accidents, traumatic experiences and re-birth. The fact remains that we may allow our theoretical, generalized expectations to blind our capacity to see.

The third challenge is to ask whether the 'non-judgmental' attitude of the social worker is compatible with the fact that social work is only undertaken with the objective of changing people's behaviour in one direction. Do social workers play fair in their claim to non-judgmentalism? Theoretically, I think they are right and that the consequent action must be tried. The basis of feasibility is the empirically justified assumption that the overwhelming majority of people

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tend to conform to the standards of their society. Unconformity may be classified into four main forms.

- (1) Unconformity which offends neither the law, nor the conscience, nor the convenience of others, e.g. oddities of dress or eating habits.
- (2) Unconformity by persons with an articulate conscience, e.g. rocket-site passive resisters.
- (3) Unconformity by persons who are assumed to know the price in punishment or social isolation and are willing to risk having to pay it, e.g. the motoring offender, the big criminal, the petty delinquent who persists in committing crimes for rational gain, those with an 'unsettled way of life.'
- (4) Unconformity which offends the law, the conscience or the convenience of others, and for which there is no satisfying rational explanation.

In general, social case-work is not even considered as a possible response for the first two kinds of unconformity. It is assumed that the unconformists have personalities inoffensive enough or robust enough to be able to carry their oddity without personalized attention. In the third kind of unconformity, society decides, rightly or wrongly, not to bother: it simply exacts, formally or informally, what it thinks to be the appropriate price. It is in regard to the fourth kind that case-work comes into play, or at least into consideration. Here there is neither robust personality, nor convincing rational motive for unconformity. Society is justified in approaching such unconformity, by definition so offensive that it cannot be ignored, on the assumption that the conformer wants to conform but for personality reasons is unable to do so. It is the business of legal punishment and of informal public opinion to try to *make* such people conform, regardless of their inner state, or of social workers to *help* them to conform by helping them to understand the factors in their unconformity and, by their own efforts or with help, to achieve adequate conformity. This is not quite the same thing as 'inducing the other party to want what we want him to want,' as Barbara Wootton puts it. It is helping him to achieve the conformity which, we assume, with some reason, most people want most of the time. If the social worker fails, it may be for lack of skill or it may be because the conformer is in class three—willing to pay the price, or class two—a conscientious conformer. In that event, the social worker can do no more and society resumes its responsibility for exacting a price designed to satisfy its irritation or its demand for security. This does not imply that either society or the social worker are necessarily right in the forms of conformity they demand or expect.

And so we come back to the magistrate, whose problem is

Roger Wilson

admirably stated but too briefly analysed in the last few pages of the book. How does he classify the unconformity which comes before him, which becomes less and less explicable in rational terms? Who does the magistrate punish for the sake of the others, though he is almost or completely certain that it will do the delinquent no good, that it will almost certainly harm his family and probably harm him? What is the magistrate doing when he calls for a probation officer's report, and if, subsequently, he puts the delinquent on probation? Is he not asserting, *pace* Barbara Wootton, that the delinquent does not see his own conduct so clearly as may the outsider, and that he needs help to understand himself? And that is the basis of case-work. In an affluent society it looks as if it would be increasingly difficult to respond to the challenge of unconformity on the relatively easy assumptions that men are either economically sensible or behaviourally rational.

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¹ Barbara Wootton raises the question of *motoring offences*, and the condition of those who commit them. This may, indeed, be a sociological question and one hopes that she may develop the theme further.

² *Poverty and the Welfare State*, p. 59.

³ p. 291.

⁴ p. 268.

⁵ Hansard, 17th February, 1960.

⁶ In the context 'no longer' means since the changes in social administration, 1944-48.

⁷ She does not herself differentiate in this way. Throughout she speaks simply of 'social workers.'

⁸ p. 295. But for all the helpful disposition and common sense of the Assistance Board, it is a pity that its policy does not show a more dynamic awareness of the non-pathological aspects of poverty revealed by the Shaw/Bowerbanks survey, quoted approvingly by Wootton on p. 78.

⁹ p. 296.

¹⁰ pp. 319-20.

BOOK REVIEWS

Law and Opinion in England in the Twentieth Century edited by Morris Ginsberg. Pp. viii + 407. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1959. 42s.

Law in a Changing Society by W. Friedmann. Pp. xxvi + 522. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1959. 50s.

Judicial Review of Administrative Action by S. A. de Smith. Pp. xlvii + 486. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1959. 70s.

Lawyers in England have shown little interest in the relations between law and society. The main contributions in the past to jurisprudence have been in the analysis of legal concepts, especially by Austin, and today the most significant writing derives its inspiration from the logical positivists. The hope that the anthropological work of Maine might generate a school of sociological jurisprudence in England was not to be realised. It was therefore surprising that in 1898 Dicey should write his lectures on Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century. Would he ever have done so had he not been invited to lecture at Harvard Law School? Of course Dicey's lectures were sociological only in a restricted sense: he set out to trace the connection during the nineteenth century between the development of English law and 'certain known currents of opinion.' Dicey did not in fact deal with public opinion, but only with the views of the limited class of intellectuals who influenced our legislators: needless to say there was no awareness of pressure groups. The classic quality of his work lay in the unity of purpose and form of his survey of the entire English legal system.

The book under review contains the text of independently prepared public lectures by seventeen different lecturers which take account of subsequent developments not only in law but in the wider aspects of social policy. It is then a very different work from Dicey's, a symposium the contributions to which are inevitably unequal in quality. The outstanding piece of legal writing is Professor Kahn-Freund's 'Labour Law.' His theme is the unique character of English trade union law with its preference for collective bargaining

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rather than legal enactment. He shows how Dicey's antithesis of *laissez-faire* and collectivism was too simple: that the rapidly developing pluralistic character of the British Constitution enabled collective entities like trade unions and organised management to turn their backs on legislative controls except where disequilibrium of forces made legislative intervention unavoidable. He shows also how there continues in the twentieth century, contrary to Dicey's expectation, a permanent influence of individualism which shows itself in the insistence on the contract of employment as the legal basis of the labour-management relation. All this is richly illustrated by examples. There is one lecture of comparable merit in the section on social change: that by Professor Titmuss on the health service, which concentrates on those two periods of legislative activity, 1911 and 1946, when 'the figure of a Welshman galvanised B.M.A. House into action.'

Professor Friedmann's work, which is an enlarged edition of his *Law and Social Change in Contemporary Britain* and brought up to date, is on a much broader canvas. First he has general reflections on the inter-relation of legal and social change. He then analyses the rôle of the courts in the adaptation of the law to social change. The main part of the book is taken up with the impact throughout the British Commonwealth, Europe and the United States of social change on the main legal institutions, i.e., property, contract, tort, criminal law and family law. The work is a valuable corrective to the inward-looking formalism of the English judges who disclaim any suggestion that they do anything but apply the law in books by logical processes—for fear of the law of contempt no British jurist, but only an American one, could tell the Lord Chancellor that that was the story he learned at his grandmother's knee! To write a book of such size is of course a tremendous undertaking and surely beyond the capacity of any one lawyer. Still Friedmann performs a useful service by showing the various points of impact of law and social change. Even more valuable would be a series of deep investigations of the relationship in limited spheres—obviously suitable examples are hire-purchase and the Rent Acts. Equally rewarding would be sociological investigations to provide the background for the reform of lawyer's law. Much of the work of the permanent Law Reform Committee is sterile because its work never ranges beyond legal sources and because it never carries out factual research. Urgent illustrations are subse-

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quent case histories of the recipients of lump sum damages for personal injuries as a means to checking the adequacy of the present system of lump sum awards by the courts, and of motor vehicle accidents and the question of whether compensation should be on an insurance basis instead of on its present basis of liability for fault. In short, stimulating though Friedmann's generalisations are, the truly worthwhile contributions in this area will not be theorising of this sort (with its dangerous tendency to make *ex post facto* rationalisations) but conclusions derived from empirical inquiry.

Professor de Smith's work is of a very different kind. It represents the traditional type of English legal research at its best. The law relating to judicial control of administrative conduct is extremely complex, not to say contradictory. The author has made a most thorough examination of all the authorities and compiled the most systematic account of them so far made: the task of judges and counsel will be much easier in the future. But no attempt is made to weigh the complementary force of political controls such as ministerial responsibility and the parliamentary question.

One's forecast is that the most the English lawyer can hope for is more work like that of de Smith's. It is perhaps significant that although Friedmann and Kahn-Freund are teachers with much experience in British Law Schools, both were trained in Continental Europe.

University of Manchester.

HARRY STREET.

The Country Craftsman by W. M. Williams. Pp. xviii + 214. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 25s.

Bibliography of Rural Land Economy and Landownership, 1900-1957 by D. R. Denman, J. F. Q. Switzer and O. H. M. Sawyer. Pp. xii + 412. Cambridge University: Department of Estate Management, 1958. 35s.

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will not enhance. Nor is it up to the standard set by John Saville in the first Dartington publication. This is not entirely the fault of its author since he set out with an impossible task. The book which is about country craftsmen, aims to 'examine, as objectively as possible, their present condition and their future prospects.' At the same time the work of Government agencies like the Rural Industries Bureau is examined in order to point out where they go wrong and how they could do better. The comments on the work of these agencies seem to me to veer between the petulant and the patronising and the major conclusion that they should spend less money on technical instruction and more on social research is merely special pleading in all senses of that term. The attack on the R.I.B. attitude to saddlery on pages 24-26 is a case in point.

Mr. Williams has collected enough data in his field studies of craftsmen and rural industries in Devon, Staffordshire and Cheshire to show that there is a problem to be studied. Two periods of 3 months' study by an unaided geographer however are not adequate resources to produce a worthwhile book. There is no bibliography. There are problems here worthy of separate sociological study and consideration by agricultural economists and students of administration. What is required from a sociological point of view is the study in depth of the part played in social life and the economy by rural craftsmen in a specific limited area. As it is, despite the author's attack on the romanticism of the 'pastoral myth' writers, his own brief patches of sociological analysis are equally unconvincing. 'Devon has too many ambitious and enterprising young men, the West Midlands too few (p. 76)' is one example. The excursus into 'history' on pages 116-118 is another. It has an implicit assumption of an urban-rural culture clash as the basic driving force of change which is reminiscent of Malinowski's later writings on Africa, and historically quite unjustified. British history did not after all start with the industrial revolution. The countryside and the towns prior to that were by no means isolated from each other.

Sociologists will be most disappointed with the ten page section dealing with debt (pp. 125-136). Since acknowledgment is given to the 'brilliant' analysis of Arensberg in a footnote on page 136, it is a pity that the opportunity to deepen and modify Arensberg's views was not taken. Again the discussion of country town industries on p. 186 would have been enriched by consideration of the views and findings of Professor Beacham, especially since this was financed

by the Development Fund.

Finally on p. 167 Mr. Williams states, and I fear he means it as a reproach, 'ambiguity and vagueness are the lubricants which make the rural industries organisation run smoothly.' They probably are since this is true of all organisation. It is not enough for the sociologist to identify the lubricant, he needs to say something more detailed about the mechanism and what points of friction require lubrication, how and why.

The lesson of this book seems to be that if as it appears, the Dartington Trustees wish now to make the same contribution to Rural Sociology as they have already made to so many other facets of rural life, they must do two things. Firstly, recognise that the serious study of social life is not a part-time occupation in which one can produce good books in the spare time of two summers. Secondly, they must separate more clearly their fact finding from their reforming activities. Except, perhaps, in the hands of genius like the Webbs, research reports written like political pamphlets are no more effective than political pamphlets written like theses.

The Bibliography of Rural Land Economy will prove a useful work to all students of rural sociology and seems to have no serious faults. It is well laid out and easy to use whether one is seeking books by author or by subject. It will save rural sociologists much effort in finding their way around the literature of neighbouring disciplines to their own.

All specialists will have some complaints on what is omitted, but I was more often surprised by the width of material covered than by omissions. Those interested in the study of Agricultural Trade Unions, for example, can make a good start from this book. Arensberg and Kimball on Ireland are not there although Alwyn D. Rees on Wales is. There are some misspellings of names (Iorwerth Peate for example) and Garrett is spelt 'Garratt' in one place. The Labour Research Department is not the Labour Party Research Department but an independent body. One thing that strikes the reader is the preponderance of books and articles on Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Do those concerned with English country life have fewer problems to write about? Or is it something to do with English villagers being in E. W. Martin's term *The Secret People*? One hopes that those bodies which helped to finance this work will continue to give grants so that supplements can be published periodically to keep it up to date.

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The Report on Country Town Industries is a cyclostyled foolscap document of about 40 pages which represents a shortened version of a full report which can be inspected at the Agricultural Economics Research Institute in Oxford. It is the third report in a series financed by the Development Fund on the recommendation of the Development Commissioners. (One of the Government bodies referred to in Mr. Williams' book.) The first two were published as books in 1951. It is a quite straightforward survey of what industries are present in country towns in the area, the proportion of workers employed in them, and their impact on such problems as seasonal and juvenile unemployment. It provides a useful introduction to the economy of the area to anyone contemplating a detailed study of part of it and supplements some of the data collected in *The Country Craftsman*.

An extreme example of the difficulties involved in delimiting an economic and social field for study is given in the case of the factory at Castle Cary which makes 'sunblinds for South African trains from the long black tail hairs of horses from the uplands of South America!'

Cardiff.

RONALD FRANKENBURG.

The Cult of Authority by Georg G. Iggers. Pp. 210. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff N.V., 1958. Glds. 14.25.

The Psychology of Social Class by M. Halbwachs. Pp. xvii + 142. London: Wm. Heinemann Ltd., 1958. 16s.

Human Groups by W. J. H. Spott. Pp. 219. Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books Ltd., 1958. 3s. 6d.

The first of these three important and well-written books deals with the political philosophy of the Saint-Simonians. Whereas earlier writers have concentrated mainly on the Saint-Simonians as an important phase in the history of French socialist thought, Iggers sees their basic principles as totalitarian rather than socialist. In his view, based on extensive research into their writings during doctoral work at Chicago, the conventional label of 'Utopian Socialists' has obscured their main significance. We see here the influence of Hayek for whom the modern concept of planning was born with the Saint-Simonians.

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This development of a philosophy which was fundamentally anti-rational and totalitarian was not the work of Saint-Simon himself but of his followers. Iggers writes, 'Convinced like Plato that there was one social truth knowable to a certain élite, and that this élite inevitably exercised power in the general interest, the Saint-Simonians outlined the most systematic despotism over man conceived in nineteenth-century thought.'

The development of authoritarian theory the author attributes chiefly to Comte and Bazard. Political authoritarianism followed logically from a scientific conception of science and history. Although condemning coercion, the Saint-Simonians demanded total conformity in all branches of society, scientific, industrial or artistic. They trusted the implicit goodness of authority and obedience.

Iggers concludes this well-documented study by observing that although the chain of thought between the Saint-Simonians and modern totalitarianism has yet to be established there is great similarity in argument between the Duce's Doctrine of Fascism and the editorials of *Le Globe*.

Maurice Halbwachs died in Buchenwald in 1945. This work was published posthumously, first in French in 1955 and now in translation in 1958. His friend and colleague, Georges Friedmann, pays tribute in a foreword to this distinguished and courageous scholar who suffered under Nazi oppression not long after his appointment to the Chair of Social Psychology at the Collège de France. Halbwachs studied under Bergson at the Lycée and later worked with Simiand, Lévy-Bruhl and Durkheim.

His approach is sociological and historical rather than psychological. He sets out to show how economic and social class, as the widest and least artificial of the 'collective determinants' of human behaviour, influences the thinking of its members and imposes definite motivations upon them.

He examines first the peasant classes in their traditional forms and then moves on to urban life in an industrial society, distinguishing between the bourgeoisie, the workers and the lower middle class. He concludes with a chapter in which he relates social class to certain other determinants of conduct, to patriotism, religion, science, art, politics and morals.

Professor Sprott's Pelican book on *Human Groups* is yet another reflection of his quite remarkable ability to cut through a whole mass of experimental data and to present evidence in a succinct

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and very readable form. Unlike Halbwachs who was concerned with large collective associations, Spratt here deals mainly with face-to-face groups. His approach is mainly, though not exclusively, that of the social psychologist.

Three chapters are devoted to evidence from researches with experimental groups, and one each to the family, the village, and the neighbourhood. The application of research findings poses important questions which he discusses in his final chapter. The small group can be used as an instrument of conformity as well as a method of therapy. Conformity for its own sake, however, can be a source of restriction as well as a means of enlightenment.

University of Toronto.

JOHN SPENCER.

Method in Social Anthropology by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Pp. xxi + 189. The University of Chicago Press (London: Cambridge University Press) 1958. 28s.

Radcliffe-Brown always argued that it was more profitable to study social institutions as they functioned in contemporary societies, rather than to search for their origins, for this could only lead to conjecture. Scholars of the nineteenth century sought origins to assist them in delineating the evolutionary sequence of institutions, but once the stages in the development of an institution had been established, there was little else to do save refine the series. The functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown was partly a revolt against sterile evolutionism, and it is to his credit that he rescued British social anthropology from its grip.

Functionalism, moreover, compelled fieldwork. If anthropology was to become the study of social institutions as they functioned contemporarily, scholars must leave the library for the field. The spate of field work, begun after the First World War, and which has accelerated since the Second, and the accumulation of monographs which has resulted from all this, is largely to be attributed to Radcliffe-Brown's influence. But few would maintain that he himself was a brilliant fieldworker. His strength lay in his analysis of social structures, and in this his work is of unsurpassed elegance and clarity. Indeed, his chief fault was that systems, as he presented them, were too good to be believed. He gave the impression that human societies are composed of parts which fit so neatly that they

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are able to persist in states of permanent euphoria. Facts which failed to correspond to this condition were indicative of temporary disphoria or were treated as deviating behaviour; in either case restorative mechanisms effect a return to euphoria. Radcliffe-Brown was concerned with logical models, which were too simple to comprehend reality, except peripherally in the sense that examples were drawn from it. The more meticulous documentation of everyday life which now characterises field studies, has meant not only greater sophistication in analysis, but has yielded a harvest of 'deviatory' behaviour which could never be kept within the bounds of the kind of models engineered by Radcliffe-Brown, from what now appear as cursorily collected facts.

If Radcliffe-Brown appears naïve to his successors it is, largely, because he was a failure as a fieldworker. Malinowski, who was his contemporary and rival (although intellectually his inferior) has left a more enduring monument because his field work was excellent; and because he gathered such a store of facts he was able to see that the real contradicted the ideal too persistently to be dismissed. By a curious twist of fortune, the line of development which stemmed so strongly from Radcliffe-Brown at one time, is now veering more and more towards Malinowski. The latter remains fruitful because, although theoretically weaker than Radcliffe-Brown, his excellent data alone illuminates essential points in human relationships and provides a storehouse of facts into which we can always dip with profit. Radcliffe-Brown devoted his energies to method and general theory, and as methodological approach changes, and as theories are modified or rejected, his influence wanes proportionately. But his work, far from being moribund, still provides a stimulus, and this collection of his scattered essays is to be welcomed; and for those interested in the history of social anthropology it is invaluable.

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EMRYS L. PETERS.

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Your Secondary Modern Schools by J. Vincent Chapman. Pp. 298.
London: The College of Preceptors, 1959. 12s. 6d.

The Social Purposes of Education by K. G. Collier. Pp. xv + 236.
London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 21s.

School and Community in the Tropics by T. R. Batten. Pp. ix +
177. London: Oxford University Press, 1959. 12 s. 6d.

The Objective Society by Everett Knight. Pp. vii + 136. London:
Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 16s.

Chapman provides a useful brief summary of the characteristics and programs of secondary modern schools, written in a style well geared to the lay reader. Most of the book is occupied with the manner in which each subject-matter area is taught. Information was secured through visits to some schools and correspondence with many others, supplemented from the author's personal experience and prior published reports. Typical variations among schools and practical pedagogical issues are stressed, with a treatment that is impressionistic and illustrative rather than statistical. Headmasters' comments frequently afford interesting examples of the prevailing national philosophy of education, as in their two-to-one rejection of parent-teacher associations with the reasons given, the distrust of uniting history and geography into a social studies course, and stress on the fact that books are important in the secondary modern as well as in the grammar schools. The chief use of this volume will be as an introduction to the schools for those not already familiar with their operation.

Collier presents a methodically developed proposal for educational objectives and program attuned to the special requirements of today's British society. The first section reviews in capsule form the usual sociological observations about rates of change, vastness and atomization of modern society, and the instability of status and value systems. Following is a discussion of key characteristics of British culture which must constitute the starting point for any constructive educational effort. Third is a review of some elementary psychological principles relevant to human learning. Finally a set of educational principles is advanced, stressing particularly the effective use and alternation of the teacher's two rôles as ruler and as leader, and the cultivation of integrity. The latter centers about being honest with oneself and is especially to

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be promoted through the careful use of expressive activities.

The work is a delight in clear exposition and its organization is admirable. There is, however, a serious problem of depth and unrationalized eclecticism in a work that covers vast realms of sociology, anthropology, and psychology in so brief a span, drawing from partially contradictory viewpoints without apology. The greatest difficulty is inherent in the author's task, that of drawing conclusions which are compelling in the light of his assumptions. Collier has done a more convincing job in this respect than many educationists are able to do, but the general tenor of the concluding chapters sounds so characteristically 'British' to the outside observer that a doubt is unavoidable. As convincing a case could probably be made for quite different principles, starting from the same social and psychological science foundation.

The third volume presents the rather special problem of schooling in preindustrial villages, many of which happen to be in the tropics. Education for village life has traditionally been informal, while formal schooling has principally trained people to leave the villages. Today's changing world requires a more formal schooling for village life, whose prime objective, Batten proposes, must be to create an urban community in the villages. This goal requires that the curriculum be unique to each village and that adults be changed along with the children. The author then reviews the experience of 'community schools' in several countries, stressing the problems of teacher-community relations and the limit of reasonable demands upon the teacher to work with adults in the community.

While the treatment is informative and the collating of experience in several countries is useful, we find no adequate explanation of what the desired urban community shall be like, how an urban community is sociologically possible in the tribal village, nor how we are to achieve the constructive features of urban community without its seamier side. Batten assumes that objectives hardly need be specified in advance for groups which are co-operatively organized. The reviewer cannot share this faith in the collective wisdom of the immature and those who cannot foresee their own future. Nor can he see how the new perspectives gained from any successful formal schooling can fail to drive a wedge between generations, weaken the provincialism which makes the village seem desirable, and generally alienate students from the kinship and locality anchorings of village stability.

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In contrast to the three cautious works, Knight's book is a vitriolic attack upon the academic (excepting, apparently, the 'hard' scientist), interspersed with philosophy from Sartre and Marx. The 'objective society' is a society which views reality as something independent of human intention and perception, which must be 'discovered.' Such a society produces its messiahs, who are too divorced from reality to do it any good, and its monks (the academics) who make a career of scholarly study of the irrelevant past. Because of their monkish pursuits the intellectuals afford no leadership in the realm of values, so that society is overwhelmed by default by unsatisfying bourgeois values. But the objective view is false. Human intention makes rather than discovers reality through the intentional act. The intellectual need only turn from contemplation to action, since we always know intuitively what is right and wrong when we allow ourselves to see past the smoke screen of scholarly investigation. The possibilities of intellectual leadership are comprehensible only by seeing history as a 'dialectic between occurrences and the objective meaning which man's subjective intentions attach to them.' Society can be changed if the academic sees that we have sufficiently inspiring and practical intentions.

The book is exciting journalism—full of highly quotable diatribes. Knight uses the usual tactics of creating straw-man villains (Reisman and Popper), of comparing his own system in its ideal aspects with the present society in its worst phases, of trying to overwhelm the reader by emphatic assertion of the unsupportable assumptions of his position, and of scrupulously avoiding details of the attainable better world (except that we shall enjoy fornication and do away with status). One cannot help enjoying and admiring the clever movement between discussions of cubistic art, current philosophic developments, historical analysis, sociology, and psychology. But its lack of originality in criticism, the looseness of its analysis, and the incompleteness of its positive proposal makes it unlikely that the book will do much to remedy the present ineffectuality of intellectuals.

*University of California,
Los Angeles.*

RALPH H. TURNER.

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Georg Simmel 1858-1918 edited by Kurt H. Wolff. Pp. xv + 396.
Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1959. \$7.50.

Sociology: The Study of Social Systems by G. Duncan Mitchell.
Pp. ix + 174. London: University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1959.
11s. 6d.

Mr. Mitchell has given us a thoughtful and unpretentious introduction to 'thinking about human society;' and Mr. Wolff adds yet another attempt at translation and assessment of the elusive Georg Simmel.

Mr. Mitchell arranges his attempt to 'outline concisely the hard core of sociology' (considered as a distinguishable discipline) in three parts. In the beginning he treats of the development of sociology and of the notion of social system. His historical sketch is rather perfunctory and might well have been omitted without loss. His illustration of a social system with the help of Arensberg's and Kimball's work on a rural community in Eire is brief and pleasant. Whether there would be general agreement that 'the chief merit of *Family and Community in Ireland*' lies in the willingness of the authors to 'point to the implication of their analysis for policy making' is another question. In any case, his exposition of the notion of social system would have been considerably enhanced if he had selected *two* cases. He might, for instance, have added Bales' account of Alcoholics Anonymous (it too has implications for social policy) and then shown how *one* notion can help lay bare the differences and the similarities between the cases. In Part II Mr. Mitchell reminds us of the principal social institutions of 'the simple society.' At one place a printer has been allowed to convert the latter into 'the single society.' Maybe the printer's error is nearer the truth. Part III is a 'systematic analysis of the complex society.' This involves a discussion of social stratification, large scale organization, education, kinship, family and neighbourhood. It involves, as well, plausible observations on the complexity of our division of labour and quite dubious ones about the relative unimportance of our kinship arrangements. I share Mr. Mitchell's wish for comparison, but let the comparison be between comparably complex societies that are significantly different. Ultimately, Mr. Mitchell's sensible overview suffers most from what it chose to exclude: a concern with the extent to which complex societies combine consensus of values with difference in norms and how

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they engender patterns of conformity and opposition. This book leaves one too serene. The hard core of sociology surely includes the apprehension of strain and change, of social movements, and of the mutual dependence of large political or corporate 'units' one on the other.

Mr. Wolff has assembled a 'collection of essays with translations and a bibliography.' The translations should have come first. There are eight of them. They include a letter from Simmel to Max Weber's wife and the suggestive essay on adventures. They are useful to have. As translations they are faithful but uninspired. When the new edition of Simmel's writings in German is complete we need a uniform selection of them in English undertaken by someone who will translate him freely. In Mr. Wolff's volume the translations are preceded by long and short essays about Simmel. Levine's chapter on Simmel's social thought and Duncan's on his image of society are excellent and so stand out in the series. Of the two bibliographies one is an excerpt of writings on Simmel from Gassen's complete list of all items by and about Simmel (in his *Buch des Dankes*—how pretentious and impossible can titles get?) and the other, compiled by Wolff, lists his German books and the translations now available in English. The book also contains inconsequential small pieces on such topics as Simmel's anthropological interest, his youth and his book on money, an interesting essay by Lipman on Simmel's view of individuality and a spirited reminiscence by a former student. Somehow the two covers do not contain a book nor a commemorative *Festschrift*. It is unpleasant and thankless to have to be so carping. Maybe those of us who admire Simmel will have to accept the fact that he wanted no direct disciples and descendants. He was obsessed by aloneness as a social form.

Mr. Wolff's book would have been better for including less and Mr. Mitchell's for including more. Both books are useful attempts at creating more *Uebersichtlichkeit*—to use one of Simmel's terms. Neither, I fear, is attractively designed or printed.

University of British Columbia.

KASPAR D. NAEGELE.

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The Analysis of Political Systems by Douglas V. Verney. Pp. vii + 239. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 28s.

The American Science of Politics by Bernard Crick. Pp. xv + 252. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 28s.

Mr. Verney presents a general and analytical approach to political systems and not a descriptive account of the workings of particular systems. He states: 'The approach is . . . theoretical rather than descriptive or institutional' and that 'the method tends to be rather empirical than speculative' (p. 6). The work is divided into three parts: I. The Structure of Government; II. The Political Process; followed by III. Conclusion and a brief index.

The author attempts to classify political systems into one of three groups, viz., the parliamentary system, the presidential and what he calls the convention-type. This classification is unsatisfactory because the presidential system is really a particular type of executive, whereas the other two apply to legislatures. When one finds, for example, that Czechoslovakia, Monaco and Great Britain are all classified as having parliamentary systems; the U.S.A., Liberia and the South American republics, the presidential system; while Switzerland and most of the Communist States, the convention-type system (pp. 83/4), it must be admitted that such groupings are unrealistic and of very little use.

When classifying political systems, three factors have to be taken into account: the electorate, the legislature and the executive. In his introduction Mr. Verney states (p. 9): 'Our concern therefore is not only with governments and their organization but with their popular basis.' Unfortunately he does not always apply these criteria in his classification.

Apart from these shortcomings, the book is very lucid and crammed with facts and shrewd observations and comments.

In his *Science of Politics*, Dr. Crick deals provocatively with the views, approaches and assumptions of various American writers in that field in a way that really impresses. The focus of his onslaught is the extent to which politics is claimed to be a 'science.' He writes scathingly about '... the great concern of Lasswell to reduce politics to a series of statistical techniques' (p. 214). It is certainly timely that the attitude of theorists, who pretend that politics can be regarded as a natural science, should be critically examined and exposed.

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One cannot but agree with W. A. Robson's statement in the UNESCO publication quoted by Crick on p. 216 :

'Political Science . . . is a science in the sense that any organized or teachable body of knowledge is a science. It is not a science in the sense that physics or chemistry is a science; for these and other natural sciences are able to formulate general laws which associate in a precise manner particular causes and specific effects.'

As long as political science deals with human beings and their behaviour, it cannot avoid evaluating their actions according to moral standards. The materialistic interpretation of politics can only lead to serfdom.

Dr. Crick is a very stimulating writer and a past master at gibes and repartee. No wonder that he labels the last part of his book: *Inconclusions*. This work is really a catharsis for the adventurous political scientist.

University of Pretoria.

E. F. W. GEY VAN PITTIUS.

Humanism and Moral Theory by R. Osborn. Pp. 115. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1959. 18s.

The Study of Man by Michael Polanyi. Pp. 102. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Osborn is concerned to challenge the widely held view that moral arguments, in contrast with arguments about factual propositions, always 'break down;' that ultimately a dispute between persons of different moral cultures, is not susceptible of rational solution. Relying on the findings of the child psychologists, psychoanalysts, and cultural anthropologists, he concludes that we have adequate grounds for the belief that moral discourse to be significant must recognise the obligation of the individual to transcend his egocentric impulses by awareness of his responsibilities to others. Whether the society be one of primitive tribes or of contemporary 'corner-boys,' the logic of moral discourse is fundamentally the same, and accordingly affords an objective means of inter-cultural moral criticism. Moral beliefs can be judged on the basis of their tendency to promote conditions compatible with the unity of mankind. And this provides the key to the explanation of why moral arguments frequently in practice do 'break down.' The pressure of social and economic interest is such as to inhibit the imaginative ability to apply the notion of equal right beyond the group of which one is a member. While Mr. Osborn defends the autonomy of

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ethics against reductionist theories, he cannot evade the 'naturalistic fallacy' argument. He counter-charges that anti-naturalists rely on a theory of meaning in ethics dependent upon the findings of introspection—a theory naïve in its apparent unawareness of the power of the unconscious, and in its divorce from the realities of social conflict. This is a good argument, but requires to be supplemented by logical analysis of actual linguistic usage in morals to show that rules of usage preclude the denial of moral propositions in certain factual situations. Mr. Osborne's book is a model of lucidity, modest and unpretentious in manner, cogent in argument, a valuable contribution to the subject.

Professor Polanyi's revolt against prevailing orthodoxies is much more fundamental. In the Lindsay Memorial Lectures of 1958 he challenges implicitly the central assumptions of post-Kantian theory of knowledge. But there is no attempt to dispose of the formidable arguments which have led empiricists to deny the possibility of knowledge of reality as distinct from knowledge of our experience of it. We may, however, sympathise with the author's refusal to recognise any sharp dichotomy between the study of the physical sciences and the study of history, even if we do not share his reasons. Professor Polanyi also has some wise observations to make on what he terms respectively the rationalist, relativist and determinist fallacies to which historians are liable.

University of Bristol.

R. V. SAMPSON.

The Year Book of Education 1959: Higher Education, edited by G. Z. F. Bereday & J. A. Lauwerys. Pp. xiii + 520. London: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1959. 63s.

This volume appears under the joint sponsorship of the University of London Institute of Education and Teachers' College, Columbia University. It is stated that the aim of the editors has been to throw light by way of 'selected case studies' on 'certain crucial problems of higher education,' rather than 'to present a comprehensive picture of the organisation of studies and methods of control of the various institutions.' There are five sections, dealing respectively with the adaptation of university traditions, the present position of professional studies in higher education, the problems of control, finance and organisation, academic freedom, and the relation between institutions of higher learning and other

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institutions. The first section has ten chapters, the second five, the third seven, the fourth six, and the fifth six, each chapter being contributed by different authors. The choice of problems is appropriate, and so too is the intention to treat them by way of 'case studies.' But the intention has not been carried out; many of the contributions take the form of a 'picture of the organisation of studies' rather than of 'case studies.' As such they have their interest, but, as is said in the general introduction, 'other international publications serve that purpose very well.'

The two editors and the assistant editor contribute an introduction of forty-three pages under their own names. On page 21 there is a paragraph purporting to describe events, called 'student riots,' which took place at Ibadan University College in 1957. This description is false in almost every particular. It is stated that the students resented 'the inadequate provision of university posts for Nigerians' and the 'low estimate of the teaching standards offered,' that the college authorities 'called in the Nigerian police to identify the culprits' and that the college was forced to re-open 'under pressure of public opinion.' All these statements are false, and moreover damaging to the reputation of the college. It is most regrettable that the authors of this introduction should have given currency to rubbish which reflects adversely on a young and flourishing college which is in special relation to the University of London, many members of which are well aware of the true course of events in 1957.

London.

A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS.

The Social Services of Modern England, Fourth Edition, Revised, by Penelope Hall. Pp. xii + 391. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 28s.

This is the fourth edition of Miss Hall's well known textbook on the British social services. The first edition appeared in 1952, and the present revision has been more thorough than previous ones in 1953 and 1955. The book's popularity is attested by the appearance of a fourth edition within a period of seven years. There still remain, however, occasional minor errors, mis-spelt proper names and slightly inaccurate references which appear to have escaped the proof reader's attention.

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In a book entitled *The Social Services of Modern England*, it seems surprising that only one-third of the space is devoted to a discussion of the services which have resulted from the break-up of the Poor Law, the bulk of the book being devoted to a description of the more personal kinds of service provided by both local authorities and voluntary agencies which are not primarily concerned with the relief of material wants. It would be possible to leave the book with the impression that relief of material distress is now of secondary importance compared with 'the adjustment of personal relationships and the integration of the maladjusted individual into society' and the uncritical student may be in danger of forgetting that we are still a long way from a state in which all elementary material needs are satisfied.

It would be superfluous to testify to the value of Miss Hall's book on the descriptive side. It also gives valuable insight into the ideology of present-day social workers and social administrators, and into the values they hold. The principal criticism that can be advanced against Miss Hall is that these values are not made sufficiently explicit.

University of Leeds.

E. GREBENIK.

Marginal Seat 1955 by R. S. Milne and H. C. Mackenzie. Pp. x + 210. London: The Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 1958. 18s.

If discussion of elections so often remains wrapped in the old miasmal mists of myth and dogma it cannot be the fault of Messrs. Milne and Mackenzie. This is quite simply the best book on the subject so far produced in Britain. It is based primarily on the evidence of 600 electors in North East Bristol, interviewed before and after the poll. Inevitably many findings, such as the importance of party images and the correlation between voting and social characteristics are familiar. But the authors have refined hypotheses advanced in their earlier study of this seat (*Straight Fight*), and pushed forward the analysis of such significant groups as opinion leaders and floating voters. This book, its predecessor and its forthcoming 1959 sequel, are gradually forming a body of knowledge from which should emerge important generalisations about political behaviour, particularly the sources of electoral change. Though the

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authors' attempt to consider the implications of the apathy and ignorance of the electorate is sketchy, as a model of rigorous method and lucid exposition this unassuming study deserves the attention of workers in all branches of the social sciences.

Nuffield College.

MARTIN HARRISON.

The Sociological Imagination by C. Wright Mills. Pp. 234. Oxford University Press, 1959. 36s.

Professor Wright Mills here discusses both the intellectual content and methods of contemporary work in the social sciences and also the moral and political rôle which such studies play in twentieth century societies. He is concerned throughout the book to argue that these two aspects are really inseparable: that the political rôle played by sociologists has tended to become corrupted *pari passu* with the growing intellectual and methodological shortcomings of their work.

His two main polemical targets are the 'Grand Theory' of Talcott Parsons and his adherents and the 'Abstracted Empiricism' of the big research institutes. The most important argument against the Grand Theorists is that their method involves a divorce between the *symbols* in terms of which social life is carried on and 'their use to justify or to oppose the arrangement of power and the positions within this arrangement of the powerful.' This failure to take adequate note of *power* makes Grand Theory, intellectually, incapable of providing any satisfactory account of historical *change* and, morally, liable to provide unconscious support for 'legitimate stable forms of domination.' The Abstracted Empiricist gathers masses of 'factual' information about artificially limited areas of society without giving any serious thought to the historical and political structures which alone would make the facts significant; he thereby renounces any attempt to discuss genuine social *issues*. Moreover, the expensiveness of his kind of research tends to subordinate him to the politically and commercially powerful agencies which provide his funds. The bogus 'philosophy of science' which is often used to justify this species of empiricism is in fact largely a disguised 'propaganda for a philosophy of technique and an admiration for administrative energy.'

Mills argues that social scientists ought to centre their investigations round the fundamental values of reason and freedom and thus

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counter, by exposing, the threatening of those values by the variously illiberal conglomerations of power which are characteristic of our society. His book is uneven in its positive contribution to our understanding of the issues raised in it; but its very great merit is to have raised the issues so forcefully and to have demanded that they be at least discussed by social scientists.

University College of Swansea.

PETER WINCH.

Reshaping a City by T. Brennan. Pp. 221. Glasgow: The House of Grant Ltd., 1959. 25s.

Social Change in the Industrial Revolution by Neil J. Smelser. Pp. xii + 440. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 40s.

Both publications are closely concerned with the working-class family, the former concentrating on Lancashire folk engaged in the cotton industry between 1770 and 1840, the latter on Glasgow slum dwellers affected by re-housing and re-development in this century. Dr. Smelser's early chapters, which make rather heavy reading, examine the structure of social systems and the abstract dimensions by which they may be analysed. General sociological theory is then considered in relation to structural changes within a selected industry, cotton textiles with its sharp distinction between spinning and weaving, for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A most interesting, lucid and fully documented account is given of the revolution in the old domestic industry that resulted from the introduction of the spinning jenny, power-loom and the factory system. Then follows a detailed study of the impact of industrial change on the working-class family, with particular reference to family economy, changing division of labour, attempts to limit working hours, and the rise of trade unions, friendly societies, savings banks and co-operative societies. In a work of such merit it is rather surprising that little reference is made to the well-known territorial segregation of spinning and weaving that arose early and has persisted to the present, while more weight might perhaps have been attached to water-power and to traditional skills within the old woollen industry as important locational factors in the early cotton industry.

Reshaping a City is a case-study of re-housing and re-development in one of our most congested cities, within which in 1951 almost

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exactly half of the houses had only one or two rooms! Mr. Brennan commences with a review of planning problems within the city as a whole, and then proceeds to examine the character of new housing estates, using Pollock as a sample. Re-development within the city centre is examined in detail for Gorbals and Govan, while the changing social and economic structure of family life is described both for families that move out to the suburbs and for the 'hard-core' that prefers to remain in the once congested heart. Finally, it is urged that in future planners should give more careful thought to housing re-development within the centre itself. This book, which is well provided with maps and up-to-date statistical data, will be of great interest to planners and sociologists alike.

University of Birmingham.

H. THORPE.

Police by John Coatman. Pp. ix + 248. London: Oxford University Press, 1959. 7s. 6d.

It is not often that a really satisfactory book is written about the police. Usually such books consist of smug historical accounts (with pictures of Bow Street runners) together with a rather journalistic description of the achievements of the modern police force in crime detection and prevention. These faults cannot be laid at the door of the present author.

This is not altogether surprising, as Mr. Coatman saw long service in the India Police prior to becoming North Regional Controller of the B.B.C. in 1937. On his retirement from that post in 1949 he went back to academic research and writing, of which he already had some experience in the 1930's. The result is a truly distinguished work.

The book is described as the first attempt to examine the subject of the police 'in the round,' by which the author apparently means that few books, if any, have tried as this one does to study the police comparatively, looking not only at the English police, but at their counterparts in France, Western Germany, the United States, the Commonwealth and the Colonial territories. The author also sets out to describe the rôle of the police in the context of modern society, and discusses the needs and problems of the service. The book is also full of remarkably up-to-date references, for example, to the troubles at Little Rock, Arkansas, to the Algiers crisis, and

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the French police strike of March, 1958, to the Brighton police conspiracy case, and the vexed problem of relations between the police and the public. All this makes it an exciting and important book.

To the sociologist and criminologist, not the least interesting aspects of the book will be the way in which the changing pattern of society is recognised as having imposed new demands on the police, and to require new knowledge and collaboration with other disciplines. There is no need to share all the author's opinions but one should welcome the breadth of his approach.

London School of Economics.

J. E. HALL WILLIAMS.

Village Japan by R. K. Beardsley, J. W. Hall and R. E. Ward.
Pp. xv + 498. University of Chicago Press (London: Cambridge University Press) 1959. 65s. 6d.

This is a wholly admirable study of a village community in Japan. It is based on research carried out over a period of four years, from 1950 to 1954, by a team of scholars working under the auspices of the University of Michigan's Centre for Japanese Studies. Professor Beardsley, for example, is an anthropologist, Professor Hall a historian, and Professor Ward a political scientist, while scholars of other 'disciplines' attached to the Centre—economists, geographers, doctors, psychologists—also contributed expert advice. The book, which is the result of these combined labours, is a most valuable study of a small rice-growing village called Niiike near Okayama, in the south-west of the main island. Rural communities are traditionally more conservative than urban, and we have heard much lately, notably in Professor R. P. Dore's *City Life in Japan*, of the drastic changes which the post-war years have brought to the lives of Japanese city dwellers. Here is an excellent complementary study of a representative rural community.

As might be expected from so multiple an authorship, scarcely any major aspect of the lives of the Niiike farmers has been left undescribed. Their houses, their tools, their food, their agricultural methods, the historical background of their district, have been treated as vividly and minutely as have their religious beliefs, the complicated pattern of their community and kinship associations, their local government, their family system. The authors are careful,

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by setting this post-war village against a background of rural conditions fifty years ago, to show to what extent the traditional pattern of Japanese peasant life has been modified since the war.

The book is beautifully illustrated, its tables are immediately comprehensible, and it is blessedly free from jargon.

University of Cambridge.

CARMEN BLACKER.

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